

**An Exploration of the Renegotiated and
Performed Identities among Hazara Men in
Australia.**

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Candidate's declaration

Except as acknowledged in the text, the work presented in this thesis is my own original research and has not been submitted, in whole or in part, for a degree or diploma at this or any other tertiary institution.

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Abstract:

This thesis explores the daily lives of Hazara men in Australia as they navigate through and participate in different local and transnational communities. I argue that participation in these communities is structured around ideas of Anderson's 'imagined communities' and Hage's 'migration guilt' where these men involve themselves in different communities based on feelings of connectedness. Here, some of the ways in which these men are performing their identities in Australia are explored; where I argue that the way these men choose to present themselves at different times affect their levels of bodily comfort and discomfort. I also explore how my participants experience their daily lives from a gendered perspective arguing that their 'manhood' produces a very particular set of experiences throughout their settlement. I argue that these men must respond to multiple demands in their lives, specific to settlement in a new country and this directly affects the way that they self identify and perform their identities.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Purpose of study

This research looks at how young Hazara men's identities change in Australia and how they are expressing these changes in their everyday lives. The main objectives of this research are to understand how these men experience their transition to adulthood while settling into a new country. How do their kinship and community relationships influence these experiences? How do these young men display their identities through their tastes and behaviour?

Context

This research examines how young Hazara men who have fled from war and unrest and/or persecution in Afghanistan, Pakistan or Iran renegotiate their identities and reimagine their lives during the period of resettlement in Australia. While they come from different places, they share in common arrival in Australia by boat, and each is involved in the same structural activity, of attempting to secure protection visas. Each hopes to gain permanent residency and safely bring their families to Australia.

Background of Hazara persecution

Hazara have a well-documented history of persecution in Afghanistan, Pakistan and more recently in Iran. In Afghanistan Hazara have long been the target of persecution, however more recently the Taliban has been the main source of threat for Hazaras and the many other Afghans leaving the country (Maley, 2001, p.8, Maley 2012). Hazara identify with the Shia Islam sect and are accused of heresy by the Taliban and its supporters, who identify with the Sunni Islam sect. The stark ethnic difference of Hazara to other Afghan groups also provides a basis for discrimination, as they are immediately identifiable by their Asiatic features (Maley, 2001, p.8). Religious affiliation and ethnicity are considered to be the two main reasons for the discrimination and persecution Hazaras receive in Afghanistan. Many Hazara fled from Afghanistan to settle in Pakistan and Iran (Maley, 2001, p.8) where unfortunately their persecution has not ended. The presence of the Taliban in Pakistan has meant Hazara come under attack frequently and in Iran the government is actively aiming to deport Hazara (Maley, 2001,

p.8). In all three countries they are frequently the target of racial violence and active discrimination. In 2012, Afghanistan was the main country of origin for asylum seekers fleeing to other countries (36,600 people), with Syria being the second largest (UNHCR 2013, p.16).

Asylum seeking by boat in Australia

Many different groups of people have arrived in Australia by boat, the first large group of people of which being Vietnamese refugees in the 1970s. Other notable large groups of boat arrivals following the Vietnamese include Cambodians, East Timorese and Sri Lankans (Glazebrook 2005, p.169). Afghanistan remains the largest country of origin of people arriving by boat seeking asylum in Australia, in 2010-11 they made up 31% and in 2011-12 they made up 43% of all boat arrivals (DIAC 2012, p.25). After Afghanistan, the countries of origin of most asylum seekers by boat are Iran, Sri Lanka and Pakistan, in order of volume respectively (DIAC 2012, p.25). The types of visas granted to these groups have oscillated between permanent protection and temporary protection depending on the government at the time (Glazebrook 2005, p.169). Currently temporary protection measures have been reintroduced (Refugee Council of Australia 2013).

Hazara in Australia

Since 1999 the majority of people arriving by boat from Afghanistan and Pakistan have been ethnic Hazara. Many Hazara have also been arriving from Iran due to the threat of forced repatriation to Afghanistan (Maley 2001, p.9). They are usually young men of military age who are seen by their families to be in the greatest danger, so their extended families pool their life savings for the journey (Maley 2001, p.9). The recent refugee influxes since the late 1990s has mean that the Hazara population has remained fairly small (Maley 2001, p.10). Little anthropological research has been done on Hazara populations in Australia, possibly because of the relatively recent arrival of this group. Existing research however concerns itself predominantly with their method of arrival by boat and asylum seeking politics. I would like to move away from these issues and investigate other aspects of these young men's daily lives.

The experiences of this cohort raises anthropological significance, particularly in the area of identity formation as these young men are navigating the dynamic process of settlement in a new country whilst attempting to attain safe migration passage on behalf of homeland kin. The particular demographics of this group suggest a very gender specific experience as they are all single men. The ages of these men is also a factor looked at as they are all over the age of eighteen and under thirty. While Hazara women from these countries are arriving in Australia, they tend to do so in family groups. The single Hazara men I examine in my research may have some relations in Australia but did not arrive with them, and do not live with them, at least initially. When they move out into the community they find housing together in small groups. The current experiences and identity construction among these men present a significant field of study. This is not only their current state, but will continue to be of importance into the future as they foster new identities in accordance with their circumstances.

Questions

I investigate how identities are renegotiated by looking at several sub areas involved in these young mens' settlement experience. I will inquire into the role the Hazara and wider Afghan communities plays in the process of this identity formation and how these relations impact their everyday lives. I will investigate how these Hazara maintain their kinship connections in their home countries and construct new networks in Australia.

In particular I will look at the use of media and social media in the creation and maintenance of networks both in Australia and abroad. I will look at how these young men build reputations among their peers by actively showing support for asylum seeker and Hazara issues online and physically in the community. I will apply Hage's (2002) concept of 'migration guilt' in my analysis of these young men's experiences. I find this applicable as these Hazara are safely living in Australia, while their families are far away in undesirable situations, with reunification completely dependent on their ability to acquire a visa and fund the travel expenses.

Significance

The research's significance is bolstered by its unique focus on the subjects' identity formation and daily routines and experiences. Firstly, by investigating their experiences, policy makers and the wider public can better understand these young men and their community. These young men represent a larger group of diverse people arriving in Australia seeking asylum in order to receive permanent protection and an opportunity to bring their families to Australia safely. The validity of their refugee claims and method of arrival to Australia receives much of the public and media's focus. This has meant opportunities to understand the unique situation and experiences of these young men from a different focus have been left largely unstudied. While there has been research on this group of people to some capacity, their unique situation in the wider context of Australian society has been left primarily untouched.

The significance of this research will be from the approach I take to understanding this identity formation and the aspects of their daily experience I privilege. Specifically this relates to the embodied approach I take to this research by looking at the way these Hazara perform their evolving identities. I look at the role of ethnicity in these men's associations and connections in Australia, in particular the relations these men have with other Hazara and Afghans. I look at the ongoing power relations these men are faced with in their community and how they in turn influence my participants' construction of self. I look at how this might affect their everyday lives and choices in Australia. My work examines key ways these men stay connected with each other and with their homelands through different technologies. I explore how these practices affect these young men's feelings of attachment to their homeland, feelings of expectations placed on them and their identity and role in Australia. I ask, to what extent do these issues affect their choices and actions in Australia? These issues are all important for settlement services and welfare services to understand the sorts of issues behind these Hazaras' behaviour during settlement. By understanding the internal politics of belonging this migrant community encounters and the way these young men are expressing their newly negotiated identities we can better understand the process of identity formation and negotiation contingent on circumstance.

I also approach this research with a focus on performance identity and feelings of bodily comfort and discomfort, of being in places and yet out of place. Looking at how these young men express themselves in their new found home is important to a more embodied understanding of

the migration experience. This research contributes to the wider subject of migration studies and in particular, refugee communities after resettlement. The significance of this approach is that it looks at the physical appropriation surrounding identity change and the way these young men choose to express themselves in a given situation and over time.

Outline & method

The methodology I use to gather my data includes semi-structured interviews and naturalistic observation. I have chosen these methods as I believe they complement each other and allow the opportunity for data to be gathered accurately and openly. I will discuss these methods further below. I spent approximately three months gathering my interview data as per the timeframe of the Master of Anthropology research component. Much of my naturalistic observations were compiled over the period of about two years from working with the Hazara community in Canberra. This timeframe was adequate for my purposes, although I believe continued work with this community would reveal many more insights into the identity formation of the Hazara.

Naturalistic Observation

This method was chosen based not only on its relative ease to undertake but also the opportunity it provided for a thick description of some of the experiences these young men are having. Situations I observed included community events, social occasions and general everyday interactions in the wider Australian community. The specifics of these occasions were dependent on ‘what was going on’ in the community at the time I undertook my research (Bernard 1994, p.140).

I currently work primarily with Hazara asylum seekers who are undergoing humanitarian visa applications whilst living in community detention. My employment over the past two years has enabled me to create links with the Hazara community as well as maintain contact with young men who have left community detention due to visa grants and/or reaching the age of 18 and being released into the community. Working with these young men has meant that I have spent large amounts of time ‘hanging out’ (Bernard 1994, p.151) with them and chatting

informally about their lives, family, plans and different experiences. It has also meant that I have observed them and their habits and group dynamics. This has given me background knowledge not only of the processes these young men must go through in order to settle in Australia, but also their challenges, hopes and personal experiences involved in this undertaking. The Hazara I currently am in contact with have settled in Perth, Brisbane, Melbourne and Canberra (where most of my contacts currently reside). Working with these young men has provided me with the context in which to perform research into the very unique set of experiences they face at these particular places and times.

As I had already known a number of Hazara socially as well as through my work, I had been acquainted with some of the Hazara and wider Afghan community. At community events it is not unusual for non-Hazara to attend in very small numbers. This seems to be especially the case for non-Hazara women due to their prevalence in the welfare sector, which many Hazara are or have been connected to at some point. Due to these norms, my presence at an event and engagement with Hazara was of no particular interest or concern, as I also made sure my behaviour did not attract any unwanted attention. Taking notes, photographing people who I don't know well or behaving in an obvious or extroverted manner however, would potentially have made people uncomfortable and resulted in me being excluded from future occasions. Reactivity among research subjects can be a concern when observing people where it is obvious from sight that a researcher would not normally be there (Bernard 1994, p.140). My connections with the Hazara community and their already relaxed and largely indifferent attitude to several non-Hazara being present, limited issues of reactivity from research subjects and the wider Afghan community. This method allowed me to gather data in an unstructured way, encouraging freedom and opportunity for unexpected findings. This permitted me to pick up on small occurrences and follow them up later on in my interviews.

Semi-structured Interviews

There were a few Hazara who had settled around Australia that I was readily able to contact for an interview; these men had all previously lived in Canberra during their visa processing period. The majority of my contacts lived in Canberra at the time my interviews took

place. I had already had discussions about my desire to undertake this research in the future with some of my contacts and had received positive responses.

My interviews consisted of 15 people. I began with about 5 Hazara who were interested in participating and was able to get the rest of my participants through my connections with these men and their positive references. I gave the men the option to be referred to under pseudonyms, and a number of men chose this option. This was due to them still going through their protection visa process and being concerned about information reaching Department of Immigration and Border Protection (DIBP) and resulting in the compromising of their visa claims. Doing this helped to protect these young men and alleviate concerns of their interviews becoming known to people in their home countries as they still have their families in Iran, Pakistan or Afghanistan (although this outcome is very unlikely). I also believe doing this contributes to providing a more open forum of discussion and answers my questions without concerns of being identified. This has been done in the past with research into groups of people from these areas with asylum seeking experiences (Glazebrook 2005, p.168). While writing this thesis I decided not to include the names of my participants, pseudonym or not as it was not relevant in my discussions for individuals to be identified.

I made my interviews loosely structured, allowing for qualitative data to be recorded. My interviews involved me asking an introductory question on the topic I used as a lead into a short discussion with follow up questions. The use of semi-structured interviews provides an opportunity for the disclosing of personal experience and flexibility with the questions asked and the answers provided (Fielding and Thomas 2001, p.126). This encouraged the interviewee to answer the question in the way they were comfortable with, without limiting their responses. The semi-structured style of the interview provides opportunities for the interviewee to reveal information that can be followed up on. This structure allowed me to do this, prompting further more specific questions when necessary or moving on. Information from these interviews complemented my other method of naturalistic observation, as it gives a voice to the participants, enabling me to authentically investigate the subjective experiences of these young men. Through the use of this research methodology, participants were able to be reflective about their experiences. The participants also had the opportunity to express answers to my questions in their

own words, allowing them to have more control of the data and subsequent analysis. This method also gives my research more validity as it removes much of my own subjectivity from the topics I investigate. This method proved to be useful for this research project due to these main reasons.

Participants in this project are all ethnic Hazara. Participants were chosen on the basis of their self-identification as Hazara men and who were recent arrivals to Australia. All have come to Australia due to persecution in Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan. All of these young men live in Australia without their families who are in these three countries, waiting for their opportunity to migrate safely to Australia. As the project deals only with young men's' experiences, participants were required to be young males between the ages of 18 and 30 years. As I had encountered many of these young men during their initial settlement in Australia as part of my work, and then built social networks of friendship with them, I was able to identify interested potential participants.

Literature review

Introduction

The literature I review is drawn from a variety of areas as my research aims to investigate topics such as performance identity, identity change and gender relations involved in the migration experience of my participants. Additionally, literature on diasporic communities and transnationalism is included as my participant base maintains strong connections to their homeland impacting their daily lives. There is a wide and varied literature on these topics so I have chosen but a few texts that capture the types of issues I plan on investigating. As such I will deal with each of these general topics in turn. I firstly discuss transnational migration theories, arguing that scholarship has progressed from viewing migration as a one way process to understanding the 'multi positionality' of many migrants today and their continued involvement in their countries of origin. I then move on to literature concerning the identity of migrants, discussing several theories and arguing that migrants can play host to multiple identities which are expressed in different forms such as participation, senses of belonging and through bodily performance. I finish with a discussion of gender and the migration experience arguing that

gender is recurrently neglected in scholarship, and needs to be studied further by looking at the way it is expressed in everyday life.

Transnationalism

Some scholars view the transnational migration experience as something that uniquely sidesteps the barriers of the national social existence. This is critiqued as not recognizing that contemporary life is full of such experiences of multi locality outside the national boundaries. Some of the ways in which scholars have exposed these connections across borders is by looking at how the spreading of media, capital and people enables these networks to be maintained (Levitt & Glick Schiller 2004, p.1008). Despite these developments the nation is still often looked at as the parameter for these connections, preventing a transnational theory from developing into a more cosmopolitan framework, adequately reflecting changes in people's social membership (Levitt & Glick Schiller 2004, p.1008).

Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) look at the theories and methodology that tackle the study of transnational migration. They draw attention to two experiences of both 'being' and ways of 'belonging' in any given social field arguing that migrants can be incorporated into a new nation, while maintaining an active role in their home country. They apply a view of the 'social field' as envisioned by Bourdieu where the boundaries are fluid and created by the agents engaged in their own political structures. Bourdieu's vision of the social field is not restricted to single territories. A simultaneous role in more than one nation is now understood to be a common part of a migrant's life, with increasing research now being produced on the transnational practices of these migrants. It has been proposed by Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) that the transnational experience be thought of as involving an anchored agent who is able to pivot across territories as well as their transnational connections (p.1003-8).

A hybrid approach to transnationalism, which sees transnational communities as 'timeless cultural wholes' is critiqued for ignoring the ongoing power relations at work in the sending/receiving states (Smith 2005, p.230). Subjects are influenced by their multiple social locations and as such need to be looked at in terms of their 'multi positionality'. This argument is

useful for my research as I look at the ongoing relations with home for my subjects as well as their identity formation across time and place.

Smith (2005) looks at the topic of 'transnational urbanism' and the embodiment within the everyday life of transnational subjects. He discusses transnationalism and the discourse surrounding it which has mainly focused on the social networks that are produced and maintained. It is argued that instead academics should move on to look at the everyday practices and experiences of those living transnational lives and that people should be looked at as 'spatially situated subjects' and part of any number of social institutions (Smith 2005, p.201).

Hazara refugees in Australia have a documented history of using technology to enable their transnational lives. Glazebrook (2005) looks at the use of mobile phones among Hazara refugees in Dandenong, Melbourne to manage their social networks within Australia and overseas. She argues that the phones provide a mechanism for Hazara to gain and manage their social capital within the community and access and transmit news from their home countries and family (p.165). She argues that the federal government's policy of implementing temporary protection visas to these people means that there is instability in their lives creating anxiety about their status as well as events that happen overseas affecting their friends and family. The 'free call' through mobile phones means that these Hazara are able to frequently contact each other within Australia and pass on information both alleviating and reinforcing these anxieties depending on the type of news (Glazebrook 2005, p.169).

The everyday practices of transnational people and places such as phone calls, internet usage and grocery shopping are important as they allow us to understand transnationalism as it is experienced today. Some scholars argue that the majority of work on transnationalism focuses on larger social organization and less on the daily lives of these agents. The personal motivations, meanings and experiences of transnational migrants allows for an understanding of an individual agent's changes over time and place (Vertovec 2004, p.972). Approaching the subject of transnationalism from a distance, seeing transnationalism as 'borderless worlds' and 'liquid modernities', is critiqued by scholars for ignoring the everyday experiences of these people and

the places they live. The argument is that this approach does not account for the reworking of identities and social ties (Conradson & Latham 2005, p. 228).

Focusing on these daily experiences and the 'lived reality' of Hazara in Australia is where I will contribute to the body of research. One concern mentioned by Vertovec (2004, p.973) is the possibility to overlook these larger social structures in the process of focusing on the daily individual experience. This is something taken into account in my work, so that the larger structural process in which my subjects are involved is not neglected.

What is useful here is the approach of looking at the way everyday orientations are transformed through the movement from one place to another. This includes the maintenance of kinship networks and obligations from home countries as well as patterns of consumption and modes of cultural reproduction (Vertovec 2004, p.977). The analysis Vertovec gives of Hazara in Australia in terms of transnational modes of contact they use will be particularly useful to my research, as the country is facing a similar political climate resulting in Hazara being faced again with the prospect of being granted a similar form of temporary protection visa once out in the community. My observations of Hazaras support Glazebrook's (2005) emphasis on the importance of this technology in maintaining domestic connections with the wider Hazara community in Australia. I however, extend this analysis and apply it to the use of Facebook for domestic community connections and argue that Skype has emerged as a popular method to contact family at home.

The level in which migrants choose to take advantage of these transnational connections can vary greatly at an individual and community level and can be expressed in even the most seemingly subtle ways. For example Hage (2002) describes how Lebanese Australian migrants use newspapers as a source of information and a way to stay connected to the homeland. He argues that while there are varying levels of participation from the Lebanese community and varying effects from hearing the information, these newspapers provide a method for people to show they care about issues in their homeland. Hage (2002) writes about the transnational experiences of the Lebanese diaspora in Sydney and their participation at a distance to the goings

on in Lebanon. Where there are feelings of ‘migration guilt’ among these individuals, these everyday activities provide a means to bridge affective and symbolic distance.

This idea of migration guilt is a particularly useful concept as it applies similarly to my research participants who experience feelings of social debt to the left behind community (Hage 2002). This idea of the social debt as reflected in migration studies stems from a Nietzschean concept of community life in that it is a form of gift exchange. This means the ‘gift’ of communality is repaid by ongoing participation in that communal group. This is relevant to my work as through the use of media and in particular social media, my participants maintain a sense of community life in the homeland as well as showing support and activism for issues concerning the Hazara community (Hage 2002).

Hage’s idea of ‘migration guilt’ has been applied elsewhere such as in Wise’s (2004) work on the East Timorese diaspora in Australia by looking at performative identity in the form of protests, church rituals, singing and dancing. Through these forms of expression the diaspora have managed to campaign for East Timor’s independence. Through the use of what is referred to as ‘ritual objects’ in protests, sensory responses are triggered resulting in participants for the cause (Wise 2004). This is important for my research as these feelings of ‘migration guilt’ are a large part of my subjects’ experiences in Australia. The use of ‘ritual objects’ during involvement in activism is also relevant in my case, as the use of torture and trauma images play a role in Hazara campaigns. I apply these ideas to examine whether through these campaigns senses of belonging and connectivity to the homeland are formed and maintained, as Amanda Wise found with the East Timorese (2004, pp. 24-39). Through continued arrivals coming into the community, these migrants are constantly being reminded of issues back home reinforcing the narrative of trauma and loss.

Transnational migrants face challenges in terms of their allegiance due to multiple political affiliations such as nationality and citizenship. Subsequently the practices of transnational migrants can alter the social and economic practices across multiple locations. Vertovec (2004) argues that transnational migrants hold a ‘bifocal’ outlook in their life where

they are able to orient themselves across multiple locations directly affecting their identities and their subsequent generations (p.991).

Transnational migrants whose journey has been from developing to developed countries is where the bulk of work has been done. This is something that has received calls to change in the academic community. One recommendation is to look at transnationalism in its many varying forms such as what Conradson and Latham (2005) refer to as ‘middling’ forms of movement. This is where the migrants are middle class which is a transnational demographic increasing in numbers, yet little studied at this point. My research will not be contributing to this less examined demographic although I do recognize the need to diversify the types of subject studied in this field.

Changing Identities

Migration involves not only a physical change in location but many other adjustments to a person’s life. Here I look at some of the theories surrounding this process of change that I see as relevant to my research. The ways migrants’ senses of identity change post arrival to a new host society have been studied from multiple angles. I discuss a theory of assimilation as a possible process migrants go through in a new country as well as a theory of diasporic identity formation as a framework to understand these processes of identity change and the way new identities are expressed in society.

Gilmartin (2008) looks at migration and identity arguing that to make sense of such experiences associated with mobility academics need to look into the practice and politics of belonging (p.1838). She critiques approaches that focus on ‘push and pull’ factors as a far too simplistic framework arguing that they place too much on economics involved and ignore the subjective experiences of the migrants (Gilmartin 2008, p.1839). Looking increasingly at migrant stories and using ethnographic techniques to gather information progresses our knowledge past the demographics (Gilmartin 2008, p.1840). Nationalist politics have a powerful influence over the identity formation of a migrant as they can be used as a form of inclusion or exclusion for someone. One example of this is citizenship, which can dictate a person’s rights, freedoms and official acceptance among states (Gilmartin 2008, p.1843). In this way, something like gaining

citizenship can be a sign of belonging, allowing someone to incorporate the nation state as a component of their identity. Participation in the host country is another way of forming a sense of belonging to that place and creating new identities. Such forms of participation can include work, education, celebrations and the forming of new social networks (Gilmartin 2008, p.1845). What is important with these acts of participation is the sense of attachment and responsibility towards the place of migration. This is not to undermine senses of attachment and responsibility towards previous places of residence, as migrants are able to be “multiply located and placed” (Gilmartin 2008, p.1845), meaning they are able to be invested in multiple locales.

Some theorists introduced a concept of ‘assimilation’ to explain the way migrants change in a new setting. Theories of assimilation have lost their appeal in recent times and many scholars see this theory as no longer a useful tool of analysis. However, it has been argued that adapting the theory would enable some of the remaining relevant aspects to continue to be used as a tool of analysis and to understand the process migrants undergo in a new host country (Alba & Nee 1997, p.827). One interpretation is that assimilation does not need to include ideas that migrants give up their cultural heritage and instead migrants and host nationals instead can develop common ground in which they exist (Alba & Nee 1997, p.828). Park and Burgess’s (1969) approach details that assimilation is only a process of interpretation and fusion of experiences creating a common cultural life. Arguments for a new theory of assimilation say that during this process migrants may adopt similar ‘cultural patterns’ to the host nationals such as language, dress, values and outward expression (Alba & Nee 1997, p.829). This is a valuable point for my research as I will be looking at how the Hazara in Australia adjust to these different ‘cultural patterns’. Research using this theory however focuses much discussion on the way subsequent generations of migrants ‘assimilate’ or ‘acculturate’, ignoring how the first generation migrants initiate this process. In my research this first generation is the subject I solely privilege.

A useful interpretation of diaspora theory is to see the subject as both a category of analysis and a category of practice. This is done by looking at the different meanings diasporic subjects have in terms of their relations, networks and their consciousness of the multi-locality in which they participate in being a transnational culture (Singla 2008, p.18). By applying the idea of migration as more than a one way process, where transnationalism affects the experience of

changing diasporic identities, scholars are better able to understand this multi-locality of subjects. Migrants are pulled by appealing aspects in the host/home country as well as unappealing aspects of the host/home country, reflecting the complexities involved in the diasporic identity building (Singla 2008, p.20). Singla (2008) has reviewed the literature exploring psychological aspects of the identity process and applies it to South Asian young adults in Denmark. She argues similarly to Gilmartin (2008) that these South Asian countries where the young adults are from are socially and historically positioned in relation to Danish society through their 'similarity, continuity and difference'. Because of this she suggests the idea of 'self' needs to be looked at in regards to the socio-political history and the experiences of the subjects (Singla 2008, p.18). These ideas relate to identity formation of the diaspora (Singla 2008, p.18) and provide a relevant framework with which to approach my research, as the differing socio-political histories of the Hazara and the wider Australian public will affect their experience in the host country.

Another approach taken by scholars to understand the experience of a diaspora is by looking at the continued use of 'cultural' objects associated with that group of people. For example Chapman (2006) looks at the significance of the Lao mouth-organ (kheen) in how music and the sound from the instrument affect first and subsequent generations of Sydney's Lao diaspora. It is argued that through the use of particular objects or experiences, memories are triggered and in turn, so are a range of sensual experiences bringing back to memory the sights, sounds, smells and emotions associated with the homeland (Chapman 2006, p.8). Through the continued use of these objects or experiences, they are reinforced as a part of the group's identity within the diaspora. The meanings and associations of these things however, are not homogenous within the group.

Different generations often feel differently about these objects or experiences. For example Chapman (2006) argues that the mouth organ holds importance in terms of identifying as being Lao and particularly for first generation migrants. He compares this experience to subsequent generations of the Lao diaspora, arguing that these people are disconnected from this Lao identity and do not encounter the same embodied sensual experience that memories would allow. This type of work comes out of a critique of the lack of analysis on a wider set of senses in anthropology which limits our understanding. What is important here is an alternative way to

look at the experience of diasporic identity, such as through an object and the sound it makes instead of only interpreting the experiences of sight and things that are seen (Chapman 2006, p.11). An analysis of embodied responses to objects and experiences would be useful for my research as I look at the young Hazara men's experiences from a range of different senses, not only sight as the means for experiencing the world. I believe by carrying on this idea, I will gather more a more totalizing set of data to really pinpoint the feelings and a more body focused experience of identity.

As another embodied practice, dress can be looked at as an expression of the self and identity. Joanne Entwistle (2000) looks at this in great detail. She draws theorists such as Douglas (1973, 1984), Mauss (1973), Foucault (1977, 1986), Merleau-Ponty (1976, 1981) and Bourdieu (1984, 1992, 1994) to construct her theory of dress as an embodied practice. She argues that the wearing of clothing turns a body into something with meaning and makes it recognisable to others in society. She writes that "the body, in phenomenological terms, is the environment of the self, and therefore something acted upon as part of the experience of selfhood" (Entwistle 2000, p.332). Here the body is seen as the vessel in which a person experiences the world.

Merleau-Ponty (1976) argues that there is an implicit knowledge of the norms within a social space and so our experience of dress is impacted by the space (Entwistle 2000, p. 335, Merleau-Ponty 1976, p.5). This is a useful framework to begin thinking about not only the way decisions about dress are made, but how the chosen dress is experienced by the individual at the time. What is not covered by Merleau Ponty is a gendered analysis of the way a body experiences dress. Michael Mauss (1973) evolves this idea by taking on a gendered perspective by arguing that through culture men and women are influenced to hold themselves in different ways. Here we can see that through dress, people are exposed to a gendered experience of their surroundings. An example given is of women learning how to wear high-heals as a form of gendered experience of clothing (Entwistle 2000, p.338). Thinking about dress as an embodied practice is important in understanding the way social norms are internalized and re-performed. This can be applied to the dress styles of migrants in different situations as a medium to understand the way these people are moderating or continuing different clothing style over time.

Gender as an Element in Migration

The impact of gender in the lives of the Hazara as they navigate through their experiences is an area I investigate. In particular I look at the experience of reaching adulthood in these circumstances. By looking at gender in migration, the researcher can seek to understand the way a particular idea of a gendered self can influence the migration journey. I look at gender to understand the way this gendered self can change from one place and time to another and how it is expressed. Specifically I focus on how gender might be expressed in the new host country in an everyday setting. The framework referred to as ‘gendered geographies of power’ is how Pessar and Mahler (2003, p.813) choose to look at the role of gender in the transnational migration experience. Through this framework the gendered social agency of migrants as well as the larger social forms of power that are at play in their lives can be analyzed. It is argued that this method allows the researcher to capture the complex contexts involved in the transnational experience (Pessar and Mahler 2003, p.818). To gain an understanding of how gender affects the transnational experience, it is suggested that researchers examine the avenues where gender is represented, consumed and practiced in their transnational lives (Pessar and Mahler 2003, p.836). I agree with this approach of being engaged in areas of cultural production apparent in the daily life of the subject. By looking at these areas we can see how experiences, ideas and consumption patterns are shared through transnational agents (Pessar and Mahler 2003, p.837). Scholarship traditionally has mostly focused on the male experiences of migration, viewing them as the pioneers, with women being largely ignored as passive followers (Pessar and Mahler 2003, p.816). This has changed more recently with more literature being produced concerning women’s migration experience. A continued broadening of the areas would help academics capture a more detailed picture of the sorts of powers at play and the way gender is expressed every day in the lives of migrants.

A gendered perspective has been previously taken with refugees from Afghanistan. Both Jamal (2008) and McKenzie (2004) have written about the migration experiences of Afghan women and the ways in which they renegotiated their identities and changed their expectations about their lives during the period of resettlement in Canada and the United States. Jamal (2008) argues that the learning processes associated with migration and settlement include many

challenges such as having to locate, acquire and process information about housing, employment, schools, health care and other immediate needs, as well as forming new family and social networks. McKenzie (2004) looks at the experiences of young Muslim women as they grow up and reach 'adulthood' in the United States. She looks at the way her participants navigate through the school system and how they negotiate gender role expectations from their family and wider Afghan community (McKenzie 2004). Both academics hold the view that the process of migration for these women creates a kind of double consciousness where immigrants are still attached to the symbols and memories of the homeland and at the same time are renegotiating their participation in the social, economic and political spheres of the new land.

Understanding how to 'be women' in these different contexts is a process that both Jamal (2008) and McKenzie (2004) write that their participants go through during their settlement and life in a new country. Through the use of in depth interviews and narrative both academics gather their information about these women's experiences. This approach provides a thick description of the women's lives in the US and Canada enabling a very subjective understanding of the changing identities and perceptions based on their new surroundings (Jamal 2008). With this very qualitative approach the social, political and historical context surrounding the narratives also needs to be included to put the narrative into an adequate context. While I think this research has similarities to the research I have undertaken, I feel the focus on religion as the key factor in identity building to not be as important in my experience with Hazara men. Their religious affiliation is certainly very important to their world view and part of their identity, however they seem quite secular in their politics and have suffered at the hands of Islamist regimes therefore their approach to religious practice is more of a private affair.

The age and single status of these men seems to have a far greater impact on them as well as their transnational experience, their coming into a new very different culture in Australia as well as the expectations that are placed on them by their family and community back home and their community in Australia. McKenzie (2004) refers to her subjects and area of study as the 'Muslim other' and the 'Muslim people', ignoring not only the religious sect but also ethnicity for the most part as a subject of identity building. In the case of the Hazara men, this identity of the 'Hazara' and recognition of who is a Hazara plays a large role in community. Being a Hazara

seems to be of more importance to community affiliation than country of birth or where they grew up as these young men are from Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan and may have never seen Afghanistan but are still Hazara and identify with a shared history of persecution.

Conclusion

The themes of the literature I have drawn on are diverse due to the different elements I encompass in my research. Literature on transnationalism calls for further research on the everyday transnational practices of the migrants to really understand how these groups of people maintain a level of existence across nations. By doing this, the subjective experiences can be better understood in terms of social continuities and change. Studies on diaspora similarly call for new ways to approach this subjective experience. A more embodied approach is recommended, where the different senses are taken into account allowing understanding of lived experiences. I take this approach on board in my research by observing how my participants use their body and change their bodily appearance at different times in Australia. A gendered study of these experiences is relevant to my research as I am only looking at men at an early stage of their adulthood. This will no doubt have an impact on their sense of self and the way they experience settlement in Australia. While the literature I have chosen to include in this review is diverse, the way that I approach this research with my participants draws upon elements from all these topics and will presently be discussed in my following chapters.

Chapter 2: Kinship and Community

There are many different demographics that people have which they can identify with (Youval-Davis 2006, p.200). For my research participants just a few of these traits include; Hazara, Afghan, Asylum seeker, Refugee, Muslim, Single, Young and Male. While they are arguably all of these at once, what is of interest in my research is how they navigate through their daily lives as all these things and more. These Hazara may identify and be identified by any number of these characteristics at any given time. In this chapter I argue that identifying as a Hazara and as an Afghan play a major role in the daily experiences of my participants. Specifically these identities enable my participants to be included in Hazara and Afghan communities in Australia as well as the transnational diaspora. Here I look at how these young men facilitate their involvement in these communities based on their shared heritage, experiences and ideologies. I also look at how these men maintain their connections with their homeland and the way this involvement functions in their daily lives.

Gilmartin argues that the construction of a new home occurs through the active participation of the migrants in that place (2008, p.1846). The actions of my research participants can certainly be viewed from this angle, with the men who described strong desires to build a new life in Australia putting themselves out in the community and participating in a variety of ways. As mentioned in my literature review, these sorts of activities range from work, to study, to social and community related activities. What is important here is the developed attachment to the place and people creating a sense of belonging. While these Hazara men actively participate in Australian society, developing connections with the people and places around them, they also actively participate in both their home communities and an international community of Hazara diaspora.

Staying connected with their country of origin is an integral part of these Hazaras' daily life. Checking in on their families by calling on the phone, using Skype and Facebook are regular practices and a source of both comfort and anxiety. Some of my participants described these experiences with one man explaining to me that he avoided calling home at one point because he did not have good news about his visa progress. When he finally made those calls he told his

mother that he had not heard anything despite knowing that his case would be going to the Refugee Review Tribunal. Afterwards he advised her that he would need to call her less often due to not having enough money to buy phone credit as a way to further avoid her questions about his visa progress. Another young man described feeling a great deal of anxiety when waiting for his family to pick up the phone, fearing they would answer with terrible news. I encountered positive stories as well where many of the young men described feeling comforted by their mothers' voice and one man saying that he regularly called his mother as he learnt to cook for himself for the first time getting recipes and cooking tips. Communication is not the only way these Hazara are connected with their kin in their homelands. One young man reported gathering the funds and sending it back home to his sister who was experiencing complications with child birth, needing specialist treatment and the money to pay for it. A few days later he received images of his healthy new nephew on his phone. Another young Hazara wanted to wear his traditional clothing, the 'Shalwar Kameez' to a special event so his family sent him some in the mail. These few examples reflect the relative ease in which these young men are able to be involved in the lives of their kin in their homelands. The sending and receiving of information, financial assistance and gifts are a habitual practice. Through these practices, the Hazara men are able to find support and be supported by those back home.

Social activities such as attending the mosque or participating in local sporting activities are common methods for these young men to gather together in large groups. For example, every Sunday during football season the 'Afghan heroes' soccer team in Canberra has a match. This team is not exclusively made up of ethnic Hazara, however it is predominantly so and all other members identify as Afghan. The match is attended by a number of other young Hazara men who are not part of the team but come along to support them and catch up with each other. Attendance is about 25 people each week including team members, Hazara supporters and non-Hazara invited including myself. The team plays as part of a multicultural tournament run in coalition between the Multicultural Youth Service (MYS) and the Australian Red Cross (ARC). Participants in the tournament are split up into teams by the nationality they identify with. This tournament works as a means for local Hazara in Canberra to participate in a sporting activity free of charge and as a social introduction for new arrivals in the community. New male Hazara

who have moved to Canberra are brought to the matches and introduced to the team. The tournament is promoted as social rather than competitive, with the organisers encouraging friendly social interaction between the teams by hosting Halal barbeques after matches. The teams do however take the games very seriously, with tensions boiling over frequently. On one occasion during the season, an approximately thirty person brawl broke out between the Afghan Heroes and the Vietnamese National teams. Throughout the matches the Afghan Heroes yell their encouragements, instructions and critiques across the field, easily communicating to each other in their native Hazaragi.

This is an example of socially and culturally similar migrants banding together in a society of diverse people and in a new place they may feel excluded from. Another example of where this has happened is in the U.S, where migrants from different Latin American countries become ‘Hispanics’ and immigrants in Europe from different Arab countries coming together in an Arab or Muslim community (Ben-Rafael, 2013, p.845). Here individuals retain elements of their individual cultural identity such as ‘Hazara’ ‘Uzbek’ or ‘Tajik’ but in a general sense have come together to form the ‘Afghan’ category in relation to the wider Australian society.

These young men, despite being from any of three different countries and various different provinces still have a strong unifying Hazara identity which overrides their ‘Afghan’ nationalism. This is not surprising as it is the ‘Hazara’ identity which is a major reason for their move to Australia. This Hazara identity is similar to what Ben-Rafael (2013) describes in her discussion of a diaspora. She argues that diaspora, while inserting themselves into their new environment maintain loyalty to their particular legacy or original milieu. She also says that these communities eventually become a foci of cultural, social and political activity (p.843). This is definitely the case with the male Hazara in my research. The engagement they have with each other and with the wider Hazara community is in many ways tied with their shared ethnic identity.

What these men have is more than just cultural-linguistic similarities which make socialization easier in a new country. They have a shared association with a common homeland, that being ‘Hazarajat’, a large area in the central highlands of Afghanistan where the Hazara

people lived fairly autonomously from the rest of Afghanistan (Mousavi 1997, p. 5). These people were first recorded to be living in this region in the early sixteenth century (Mousavi 1997, p. 10). This idea of a shared origin as well as being persecuted from the late nineteenth century by Amir Abdul Rahman Khan's campaign, right up to this day by the Taliban, creates a common historical connection within this ethnic group (Maley 2001, p.9). Many of my participants have never set foot in Afghanistan but will still identify as having an Afghan over a Pakistani or Iranian nationalism. A number of these men described attributing these feelings to a sense of institutional and social exclusion in Pakistan and Iran and so always felt they were 'Afghan' instead. I will note that this is not the case for everyone. A number of young men I worked with do have a sense of a Pakistani nationalism where they will refer to themselves as being from Pakistan rather than Afghanistan. These men all grew up in a town colloquially known as 'Hazara town' in Quetta, Balochistan, Pakistan. In this area there are large numbers of Hazara who escaped from Afghanistan and created a new community. Since the rise of the Taliban and targeted attacks against the Hazara population, Pakistan has become a less stable place for these people to live and consequently left for Australia (ABC 2012, Maley 2012).

Different groups of people have different explanations for their community allegiances, depending on their social and historical circumstances. For example 'constructivists' will argue that ethnicity is about social organization where groups are developed over time based on individual interest and ideas (Ben-Rafael 2013, p. 844). Here we can see how this might be applied, as the discrimination encountered by the Hazara in Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan has led to a reaction and intensified bond among the population. This however does not necessarily explain the continued Hazara nationalism in Australia where ethnic based persecution is not widely felt among my participants. In this case there is a real sense of primordialism, where a belief of common ancestry and sense of natural affinity has led to a Hazara ethnic allegiance (Ben-Rafael 2013, p. 843).

Noble and Tabar (2002) similarly look at how young men from second generation Arabic-speaking backgrounds self identify in Australia. They argue that the notion of hybridity among migrants and descendants of migrants allows identities to be understood as multiple and fluid (p.128). Despite hybridization as being somewhat a rejection of more static notions of identity

and recognition of culture as heterogeneous, it is critiqued for underlying essentialism where the hybrid is derived from pre existing cultures (p.132). This is not necessarily the case argue Noble and Tabar (2002), where hybridization can be better understood to be the ‘maintenance of perceived distinctive elements’. They argue that identities are fashioned through the collection of symbolic resources such as social capital, and developed in response to contextual factors in their lives such as kin and education. Personal understandings of their cultural constructions also allow for the conceptualising of identity (p.128). The example used by Noble and Tabar (2002) of the Arab Australians has similarities within my own research. Here the men put aside different religious and national backgrounds in Australia, favouring their Arab or Lebanese heritage as the unifying aspect of their identities. In my research, despite participants being born in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran and having quite different upbringings, the identity of Hazara proves to be their unifying trait within the social group. As I have mentioned, on some occasions such as during sporting seasons, this group is extended to include others who identify as Afghan. This is similar to what Noble and Tabar (2002) found that at different levels of identification, differences become more and less important (p.134).

The shared discrimination in home countries is only one part of the experiences these young men have encountered together. The journey they all undertake, whether it be from Iran, Pakistan or Afghanistan is faced with much difficulty (Maley 2001, p.9). Once making it to Australia, the process they all must undertake such as going to detention centers, being questioned meticulously by the DIBP about their visa claims, the stress as they wait for news and being separated from their families, are all conditions every one of these young men experiences when they arrive in Australia. Due to their undertaking the in the same structural process, by the time these young men are released into the community in Australia, many of them have already met at some stage. My participants reported having met a number of their fellow Hazara community members at some point in their journey, whether it was in Indonesia or in one of the detention centers in Australia. By the time they are released in the community each one of these young Hazara will have at least a small number of other contacts somewhere in Australia. When discussing this with my participants, the location of other Hazara they had previously met over their journey came up as a factor in their decision as to where they would settle in Australia.

Having previously gone through the same structural activity as a Hazara asylum seeker is just another way in which this community is formed.

Once settled in the community in Australia, the shared experiences of these men continue. As the current and previous governments hold policies aiming to deter boat arrivals in Australia, settlement for these young men continues to be faced with difficulty (Maley 2001, p. 10, Maley 2012, p.4, RACS 2014b). The different types of visas these men hold include the permanent protection visa granted under the previous Labor government, the Bridging Visa and the Temporary Humanitarian Concern Visa, both being granted in accordance with the current Liberal governments policies for boat arrivals (RACS 2014a). Depending on the visa these men hold, their rights and opportunities in Australia vary greatly. Their access to family reunion, work and study rights as well as health and financial assistance are all things that are completely dependent on the particular visa they have. Each of these young men hopes to be granted a Permanent protection visa and eventually obtain citizenship, but with the current political climate and the government's attitudes towards boat arrivals, the future is uncertain (RACS 2014a).

This shared cultural heritage and activities surrounding the travelling to and settling in Australia is not dissimilar to some of the experiences of colonial administrators during the nineteenth century. These people had a shared fellowship based not only on their heritage, but on the journey and experiences of being involved in the colonial process. While the circumstances of these two cohorts differ greatly, the nationalist sentiments fostered among each group are made possible due to being a minority of pioneers of sorts in a foreign land. This could well change if the journey and settlement in Australia became less restricted and physical mobility for young men such as the Hazara becomes more common (Anderson 1991, p. 116).

These structural activities of travelling to Australia, detention, visa processes and settlement are important experiences my Hazara participants all share. These experiences contribute to the strong affinities the Hazara men in Australia have with each other. There are implicit understandings that take place between each other which go beyond their ethnic and linguistic-cultural similarities.

The Hazara I have spoken to about the history of their people all speak of the persecution of their forefathers. These sorts of stories are found in academic sources on the history of the Afghan people (Maley 2001). These Hazara are well versed in stories of persecution both throughout history and in the present day, including personal experiences. Waterson (2010) writes that “it is part of the human condition to be the bearer of memories that are not part of our own first-hand experience, but which are nevertheless crucial to our sense of ourselves, of where we have come from and what we should do next, and of our membership of diverse and overlapping social groups.” (p.510). I argue that knowledge of these stories and a shared history of persecution is an important aspect to identification within the Hazara community. As the reason for arrival in Australia for these men is to be free from persecution, these shared narratives create a framework positioning the community in the context of Australia. The narrative of the Hazara diaspora as a people who have had to move from one place to the next fleeing persecution is not unlike the better known examples of Jewish and Vietnamese diaspora. As Watson argues, narratives and the telling of these narratives include a performative element as they are a form of self-presentation for those that identify with them (Waterson 2010, p.513).

The 2014 ‘Multicultural Festival’ in Canberra saw stalls of food, entertainment and culture that are created by and designed to represent about eighty cultural groups in Canberra (ACT Office of Multicultural Affairs 2014). One of these stalls represented the Hazara community and was manned by chosen Hazara representatives. The stall consisted of large photographs of the Bamiyan Buddhas in Afghanistan prior to their destruction by the Taliban (Gall 2006), photographs of women in traditional Hazaragi dress, colourful fabrics hanging over the table and on the walls as well as pamphlets about ‘the Hazara people’. Here members of the community are choosing what aspects of their ‘culture’ they want to share with the wider Australian public. By choosing these representations they are able to construct a certain identity for themselves as diasporic Hazara in Australia.

This is an example of how a narrative can be performed, where members of the Hazara community are developing a public ethnic identity in Canberra, one that they perceive will be accepted and appreciated in the context of a ‘Multicultural Festival’ environment. From an initial look at the displays of dress, architecture and ‘cultural curiosities’, most of the chosen

representations of this ethnic group appeared to be superficial. This display reflects a kind of 'acceptable exoticism' in which these representatives of the Hazara community are conforming to. After examining the display I did happen to notice a pamphlet mentioning the persecution of the Hazaras. Once I spoke to the Hazara representatives, showing my interest in more than the displays at hand, I was told that this year, the Hazara community would be applying to be officially recognized as group in the Canberra Multicultural Community Forum. Taylor (1994, p. 25) argues that our identity is partly shaped by the way in which we are recognised or misrecognised. He goes as far as saying that the misrecognition of an individual or group can even inflict harm on a person. The example he uses is the feminist theory that women in patriarchal societies are driven to internalize a subordinate notion of themselves (Taylor 1994, p.25).

This display of the Hazara community in such a way in the 2014 Canberra Multicultural Festival becomes more than a superficial performance of 'acceptable exoticism'. By participating in this activity, these Hazara are hoping to support their claims to become officially 'recognised' as a substantial ethnic community. This recognition is more than a formal label; it is an act of legitimization which gives its members an avenue to pursue social and political goals. Members of the Canberra Multicultural Community Forum are entitled to use its resources to "promote the common interests" (CMCF 2014). This includes a voice in "community collaboration and consultation, engagement and participation in public debate, formulation of relevant policies, representation to Government and community education, conferences and seminars" (CMCF 2014). We can see here the importance for this ethnic community to be legitimized and accepted as part of the 'Multicultural' community in Canberra as part of their process of collective identity building (Ben-Rafael 2013, p.849). We can also see here that as a constituency that is entitled to certain privileges by promoting a collective Hazara community, there are considerable incentives to maintaining this collective. A considerable incentive here is that the ability to be a recognized collective enables political mobilization.

Over the period of my data collection I discovered that while in some respects, the Hazara in Canberra are unified, segregation exists between the family groups and the single men who I focus my research on. This was also reported as occurring outside of Canberra, to a lesser extent

by a few participants. Activities such as Mosque attendance and public events in the community are occasions where all Hazara are welcome to attend, but private functions organized by family groups, for example the Ashura dinner, exclude the single Hazara men. My participants advised me that this was a result of an incident involving infidelity in the community and all unmarried men were no longer invited to such private events. I will talk further about the distinctions between the single men and the families in my fourth chapter, but what I wish to mention here is the way an incident such as this can so quickly create a fracture in the community that appears to be working so intently on developing a unified Hazara affiliation.

These Hazara are able to remain active and interconnected across borders due to their use of communication technology and in particular social media. I argue that social media is used as a tool by Hazara in Australia to retain allegiances across boundaries and promote Hazara national identities. This is the case particularly with the young men who participated in my research as they frequently use the social networking site 'Facebook'. This site is a free way for them to communicate with their friends and family who also use this site. Through their Facebook pages these men show aspects of their life they wish to share with each other such as music tastes, sporting interests, religious messages, pictures of themselves in Australia and events they are attending. This use of social media is one way these young men practice political activism. My participants are all members of a number of 'Facebook groups' associated with Hazara social and political movements. Through their membership with these groups, I argue that these men participate in a larger Hazara community as well as publicly display their allegiance to a Hazara diasporic identity. 'Hazara Asylum Seekers', a Facebook group for Hazara in Australia, depicts graphic imagery of dead and grievously injured Hazara men as well as Abdul Ali Mazari, a political leader and martyr glorified among the Hazara populations. Other groups such as 'Afghanistan My Passion', 'Afghan Asylum Seekers Association', 'Afghanistan is in my Heart' and 'Hazara Just Hazara' share news on worldwide Afghan Asylum seekers as well as relaying media from within Afghanistan. These groups are just a few of the pages devoted to Hazara nationalism. Here we can draw comparisons to Andersons (1991) discussion about print capitalism and its role in fostering nationalist sentiment. Here these young men are able to circulate their messages to others in their imagined community through discourse on social

media such as Facebook. This was similarly done with the introduction of the printing press and the distribution of print media to a wider audience than would previously been possible (Anderson 1991, P.224) The distribution of these messages actually creates the imagined community as these men would not be able to be in contact with each other and circulate ideas otherwise. These sorts of political activities are not simply limited to 'cyberspace' but also are performed in public.

On 10 January 2013, several bombings took place in the south-western Pakistani city of Quetta and in the northern Swat Valley, killing a total of 130 people and injuring at least 270. On the evening of 18th of January, a vigil was held outside Canberra centre to mourn and raise awareness for the deaths of members of the Hazara ethnic group in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Young men started gathering at about 7 pm around the fountain situated outside the shopping complex in the centre of Civic. There were approximately 20 men from the age of 17 to 30 years of age, all Hazara. There seemed to be about three or four people in charge of the event who were identifiable by their greeting everyone arriving and handing out candles and signs. I had found out about the event from a few of the men I knew. They had received calls from others in the Hazara community that day about the event taking place. There was a fire ban at the time so the candles everyone was being given were small battery operated, electric ones. People placed these candles on the ground in front of them and sat down in front of the fountain. The small orange lights contrasted with the blue lit fountain behind the crowd. There were six or so signs being passed around depicting graphic images of distressed and injured people following bombing attacks in Pakistan and Afghanistan and slogans referring to the attacks on these people as genocide.

One young man was standing in front of the crowd handing out flyers with information about the plight of the Hazara to passers-by who showed interest. There were a few people who stopped and watched the group of mourners, taking a flyer and talking to the man handing them out. Everyone else glanced curiously as they hurried by after finishing their Friday evening shopping.

As more Hazara gathered around the fountain women and a few children started appearing. These women and children went and sat separately to one side of the fountain together; they did not hold signs or electric candles and sat quietly. A few Hazara children climbed on a nearby statue and wandered around the area. Two non-women showed up with some of the Hazara women, one was aged in her 20s and the other her 40s. I asked one of the boys I was with who they were and was told they were probably from the Red Cross or the Migrant and Refugee Settlement Service (MARSS). The MARSS office is located across the road from the shopping centre, so I assumed they were staff members from there who work with the women and children. At this point there were close to forty people around the fountain. Bumper stickers were being handed out saying “If you want to stop the boats, stop the killing of Hazara in Pakistan and Afghanistan”.

Many of the men got up at different times to take turns photographing each other and the group. Those sitting around the fountain did not appear to be talking very much, they just sat quietly and solemnly, some playing on their phones.

At about 9pm everyone got up and started walking together in a crowd through the city walk slowly carrying the signs. There was no organised fashion in which they walked other than the women and children following the men at a distance. The group arrived at Garema Place a few hundred meters away from the fountain. As the road sloped down at Garema Place, a set of stairs had been embedded in the path next to the restaurant strip. The restaurants were busy as it was a Friday night and many of the patrons were watching the proceedings from their dinner tables. Most of the group of Hazara sat down together, some taking pictures of themselves sitting on the stairs. After about half an hour of sitting on the stairs some people slowly left. People lingered around chatting with each other with the general proceedings dissipating about 10pm. On 16 February 2013, at least 84 people were killed and 190 injured after a bomb hidden in a water tank exploded at a market in Hazara Town on the outskirts of Quetta, the capital city of Balochistan, Pakistan.

This example of a community event I attended earlier this year with some of my Hazara contacts relates the sorts of experiences these young men are faced with in their daily lives.

While a vigil like this would be few and far between, it does reflect what Hage (2002) conceptualizes as “strategies of intensification” (p.197), which are “strategies aimed at narrowing the physical and symbolic gap” (p.200) between events in the homeland or far away. Upon hearing news of this happening in these men’s homelands, these men are made to feel less ‘distant’ and rally into action. The example of the Facebook groups in support of international Hazara issues is one medium through which these ‘strategies of intensification’ are also occurring (p.200). The sharing of stories and images are all interactions to develop more of an involvement in the events relating to the Hazara people. I argue that this event also reflects behavior stemming from strong feelings of ‘migration guilt’, another concept of Hage’s (2002). He argues that people are affected in various ways and to differing degrees by this guilt. This concept has been applied very similarly in Amanda Wise’s (2004) work with East Timorese refugees in Australia and their commitment to the political campaign for East Timor’s independence. Wise (2004, p. 28) argues that the East Timorese in Australia used ‘ritual objects’ as part of their protests and campaigns. These ritual objects included torture images, crucifixes and models of traditional spirit houses. She writes that these objects function to draw associations between people, religion and the objects and create a discourse of suffering and the East Timorese campaign. A similarity between the East Timorese and the Hazara campaigns is the use of ritual objects in order to elicit “sensory and affective responses from participants” (Wise 2004, p.29) The sorts of ritual objects I refer to in the Hazara campaigns are graphic photographs of people, especially children injured and distressed after bomb attacks in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Hazara refugee campaigns tend to picture people, again mostly children behind bars in detention situations. These types of images are quite striking and are deliberately used to shock those that see them and trigger emotive responses. This is especially so with images of children as they represent the innocent victims caught in the middle of conflict. The images of Abdul Ali Mazari, sentimental slogans written in Farsi and images evoking ideas about freedom and peace are all popular things shared around on the Facebook sites these men are involved in. As a Hazara leader who was killed or ‘martyred’ for his role in politics and activism images of Abdul Ali Mazari represent not only him but in a way, all the people who have died for the cause. The slogans shared relate messages of hope, strength and overcoming adversity. Some of the images I saw shared around were representations of peace, love, family and friendship. These are all powerful images used to encourage continued

participation and support. In terms of the Hazara community in not only Canberra but all over Australia, if they are able to get enough attention for their campaigning, it may be recognized as part of the national interest to direct support towards the community and alter their interstate relations (Ben-Rafael 2013, p. 852).

The behaviours of these Hazara in terms of their political mobilization reflect a mentality consistent with Anderson's (1991, p.10) 'imagined communities' where not only are other Hazara from Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan included, but which is extended to Hazara diaspora around the world (Anderson 1991, p.6). In these few examples we can see how the 'imagined community' of the Hazara people extends across borders and becomes a part of the lives of the transnational diaspora in Australia (Anderson 1991, p.6). These men are motivated by not only their connections with their friends, family and people they know, but by whole communities of Hazara they are unlikely to ever meet. This imagined community of international Hazara, has become far less 'imagined' and increasingly connected. This is possible because of access to faster media distribution and communication technologies. Instead of hearing about incidents overseas and the plight of other Hazara long after it has happened, in Australia, these people are able to follow what's happening almost immediately with clearer details. As a result, the community is better able to react and mobilize in such a way to show support and campaign on behalf of each other. We can also see here in the context of social media that there is a breakdown on some level of this imagined community within the diaspora who are able to be connected, even in a somewhat superficial way to each other through Hazara related Facebook groups. For the most part however, the community will continue to be predominantly an imagined one due to the largess of the entire Hazara community and the impossibility of everyone being connected this way.

These activities are a few examples of how Hazara in Australia are participating in a 'transnational diaspora', referring to groups scattered around the world retaining bonds with their homeland and with each other (Ben-Rafael 2013, p.845). In terms of a 'collective identity' of Hazara, this is reflective of the ideas that to some capacity these men are committed to each other based on feelings of mutual recognition of their participation in the collective, there is an assertion that this group is based on some kind of communal trait, and there is some level of

distancing one's self from 'other' people who are not deemed part of this given collective (Ben-Rafael 2013, p.848). In my discussion I have demonstrated that there are certainly these conditions in which my participants participate in their respective Hazara communities. This is not to say that participation in these collective Hazara identities are in any way a static experience. The idea of a collective identity is completely subjective and so subject to change over time (Ben-Rafael 2013, p.848). These Individuals may choose to identify closely or not with these communities at different points throughout their lives in Australia.

Chapter 3: Fashion and Performance

This chapter canvasses how the study's participants perform their identity within everyday settings. In particular the study focuses on how the subjects' dress, style and music taste express this performance. I argue that the way these men experience these performed identities is embodied particularly with dress, as the clothes they choose to wear and not to wear at different times affect their feelings of social 'comfort' both in their countries of origin and in Australia. As Joanne Estwistle writes, "In terms of dress, approaching it from a phenomenological framework means acknowledging the way in which dress works on the body which in turn works on and mediates the experience of self" (2000, p.234). The way my participants dress does indeed 'mediate the experience of self' in their daily lives and on special occasions in Australia, supporting Estwistle's theory. I also look at the music tastes of my participants as an expression of self, particularly looking at their engagement with rap music and the way these men identify with this genre. In my analysis of identity and performance I engage with the theorists Csordas (1993) and Bourdieu (1989) because of their ability to draw attention to bodily practice and everyday experience.

As Counsell and Mock (2009) describe, in the study of "performance" there are no clear definitions of the sorts of activities open for analysis. He simply explains that the enacted event must be somewhat reiterations of prior actions or models of actions by human bodies (p.7). These actions ranging from the everyday to the special are fundamental to the existence of collective life and cultural life (Counsell & Mock 2009, p.8). In researching male Hazara in Australia I look at clothing and hair styles, both the everyday and the special, to investigate how identities are performed. Clothing, what Turner (1993) refers to as the 'social skin', allows us to view an individual and collective identity. Hansen (2004) writes that clothing, the body and performance become an embodied practice as our experience of dress is based on others' judgments of our efforts in the given context (p.373).

Bourdieu's concept of Habitus can be applied to the way people perform their identities. Bourdieu argues that structuring practices and representations are internalized in the body and re-represented (Csordas 1990, p.12). This approach is useful to my research because of the way my

participants internalize aspects of their environments and then reproduce them in the way they perform their identities. Csordas argues for an approach that looks at bodies not as object in relation to culture, but as a subject in which culture is produced. He describes embodiment as “an indeterminate methodological field defined by perceptual experience and the mode of presence and engagement in the world culture” (1993, p.5). He argues that the body should be the starting point for analyzing culture and the self (1993, p.39). Waterson (2010) writes about the performance of memories in South East Asian theatre saying that “To perform is to act, in this case not in the sense of inventing, but of claiming back the autonomy that is stripped from the individual person in régimes of terror” (p.522). She argues that the performance of memories is an ongoing process and response. The ‘claiming back’ of this autonomy can be seen in the way many of these Hazara are expressing themselves in their daily lives. This can be seen in the way they engage in political activism as I discussed in my previous chapter and can also be seen in the way they are choosing to dress and engage with music. I argue that these men experience new freedoms with their lives in Australia that allow them to do this. The scope of these freedoms however are at times limited with home community and Australian community attitudes still influencing the way these men feel they can express themselves.

Estwistle argues that women tend to have a greater bodily self awareness compared to men due to a more bodily based identity (2000 p.236). This higher body consciousness may be so generally, but I argue that the Hazara men who have come to Australia have experienced a heightened sense of awareness because in their countries of origin, they have been easily being identified by others making them a target for persecution (Maley 2001 & 2012, Mousavi 1997) Hazara are physically distinctive, having typically a Central Asian rather than southern European phenotype (Maley 2001, p.8). Their bodily appearance is a sign of their ethnic background and religious sect in these countries. When these men settle in Australia, they are no longer the subject of this particular type of persecution. One of my participants described how he felt ‘relaxed’ in public in Australia as no one was looking at him thinking that he was different to anybody else. This is an example of the way that bodies can be subject to feelings of comfort and discomfort contingent on the circumstances of their placement. Here feeling that one ‘fits in’ and is ‘not noticed’ provides this comfort. It is easy to draw a correlation between these man’s

previous experiences of being at risk from being noticed by the wrong person to finding comfort in that no one notices him with any particular stigma.

I discuss now two examples relating to women and the way they are performing their identities in everyday settings. This identity has been describes in both examples loosely as ‘Muslim women living in the West’. The traveling exhibition in Australia called ‘Faith, Fashion, Fusion: Muslim Women's Fashion in Australia’ exhibits clothing designed and made by women who identify as Muslim, many of which come from migrant and refugee backgrounds. The styles of clothing exhibit elements of both popular mainstream western fashions as well as from the designers’ backgrounds. The exhibition’s promoters write that “Faith, fashion and Muslim identity are further explored through the experiences and achievements of a group of Australian Muslim women. Their stories reflect on the diversity of the Muslim community and the importance of the Muslim faith in all aspects of their lives” (Powerhouse Museum 2013). The creation of this exhibition reflects the growing number of designers making this type of clothing in Australia as well as the demand for the clothing they are producing. This self described ‘fusion’ of styles of clothing is one way those from migrant backgrounds are choosing to retain some cultural attributes as well as incorporating aspects from the host society in an everyday setting.

A trend known as Mipsterz or Muslim Hipsters as described by the Mipsterz: Muslim Hipsters Facebook group page “A Mipster is someone at the forefront of the latest music, fashion, art, critical thought, food, imagination, creativity, and all forms of obscure everything. A Mipster is someone who seeks inspiration from the Islamic tradition of divine scriptures, volumes of knowledge, mystical poets, bold prophets, inspirational politicians, esoteric Imams, and our fellow human beings searching for transcendental states of consciousness” (Mipsterz 2012). This trend sparked publicity when a controversial video on YouTube was posted by several young women in America who identify as ‘Mipsterz’. The video showcases these women posing in urban American settings and doing various activities such as riding skateboards in heels, climbing trees, fences and statues while the Jay Z song ‘Somewhere in America’ plays in the background. Much of the controversy surrounding this video clip and the wider Mipsterz trend has been about what it means to be a Muslim woman in America and in the West (Hafiz 2013).

There are of course many avenues here that would be well worth looking into. What is of interest to my research though, is not only the way that these women are choosing to express themselves in a way that respects their religious views while following popular fashion styles in the West, but that this trend is highly gendered. These women in the video clip and followers on the Facebook site promote themselves as being fashion and style focused in their everyday lives. On the Mipsterz page, fashion ideas and trends are shared among its members. This trend is promoted by its followers to be an avenue for Muslim women to share their fashion in the West. From my research there is no such group for Muslim men in the West. I argue that many of the Hazara men in my research are equally as fashion focused and concerned with presenting themselves in a way that expresses Western fashion trends as well as respecting socially acceptable dress in the communities they participate in. I argue that these things do not always correspond easily and so these men must navigate the way they perform their identities through dress in different ways.

When these Hazara arrive in Australia they are confronted with a diversity of people and dress. The level of exposure these men have had to Western styles of dress depends on their place of origin, where they have lived and traveled. Some Hazara for example, who spent most of their lives in rural villages in Afghanistan talk of limited prior exposure to Western dress, while others who grew up in large cosmopolitan cities in Iran described wearing these clothes themselves as every day practice. The extent that these Hazara alter their previous clothing tastes and styles varies considerably when they come to Australia, but their identities are none the less being performed in this way. I demonstrate this in my analysis of the clothing these young men wear in both everyday and significant settings.

As I have mentioned, Estwislte (2000a) argues that different situations often command different types of dress. I feel that this is a good place to begin by discussing the different social situations my Hazara participants find themselves in. As I have just mentioned, I will break my discussion up into two parts, that being the everyday and the significant. As my research aims to capture the everyday expression of identity I will spend most of my discussion on the common situations these young men are placed in.

As many of these young men are unlikely to have a formally recognized education or qualifications upon arrival in Australia, given the opportunity, attending a school becomes part of daily life. I should mention that although the majority of participants in my field attended schooling to some capacity, not everyone is given this opportunity as part of their immigration status (RACS 2014a). For those Hazara who choose not to or cannot attend school, employment is the structuring activity of their day. The education institutions particular policies determine the dress codes of the students at school. For the schools with a uniform requirement, the uniform is worn. Most of my participants however attended a school without a set uniform as so I was able to observe their clothing choices for this activity.

I argue that the clothing choices of these young men are directly related to the individuals' self identification. The type of clothes each man wears is a performance of his particular feelings about his identity. The ways in which this group of men presents themselves in their daily life is by no means homogenous. Some of these young men preference what one man described as a 'simple' style which generally consisted of some kind of collared shirt or plain T-shirt matched with long pants, jeans or shorts. Shoes worn by these men tended to be sneakers and on more formal occasions plain leather shoes. The men who preference this style talked of wanting to 'fit in' with their classmates with one man saying that "you should always choose something that everyone will like and that style is plain". These participants described taking pride in the way they could dress themselves in a very neat and tidy fashion with one man saying that he enjoyed taking new pictures of himself on Facebook so that his family could see his nice clothes and know that he was doing well in Australia.

Others I encountered had a radically different outlook. These men were often quite experimental with their outfits, sometimes dressing in very different styles from day to day. Some Hazara replicated the outfits of U.S rap and hip hop artists, while others appeared to be copying famous sportsmen's outfits and Bollywood actors. These intentions were confirmed in my interviews when I questioned their clothing choices. When discussing how they felt about other Australian men and the clothes they wore, a number mentioned how they felt that they were far more concerned with their outfits than many of their classmates and other people in the Australian community. They felt that the style of their fellows was generally very casual, with

little effort put into their self presentation compared to themselves who wore much more fashionable clothing and put a lot of effort into their appearance. These men explained to me their experiences moving to a new place where they felt they could experiment with different styles of clothing, wanting to try things they felt they could not in their home countries. These sorts of clothes were generally worn during other times such as after school socializing, shopping, medical and legal related appointments. During sporting activities either the required uniforms were worn, or other sport suitable clothing was worn.

The types of clothing worn by my participants in their home countries vary from entirely Western clothes to wearing the ‘Shalwar Kameez’, a loose fitting long shirt and pants also sometimes described colloquially as ‘pajamas’. Some men also reported wearing a mixture of both in the same outfit such as a pair of jeans with the tunic or the ‘Kameez’. The clothing these men wore depends on the country and specific provinces in which they were living and the sorts of clothes worn by the rest of the community there. For example those who grew up in Iran or more cosmopolitan cities in Pakistan and Afghanistan tended to have worn western clothing while those in more provincial areas in Pakistan and Afghanistan were accustomed to wearing the ‘Shalwar Kameez’.

For the men who reported wearing different clothes in their home countries, I questioned them about whether they would try wearing these clothes again at some point in Australia. I received mixed responses with most men saying that they would not feel comfortable wearing them in public. These men reported things such as liking their previous clothing but feeling that because they were in Australia, they should dress like the people around them. One man said that he preferred the way people in Australia dress, as you could not tell how much money someone might have by the clothes they wear. In his opinion this made people appear more equal than in Afghanistan. Another man said that he thought people would call him ‘Taliban’ if they saw him wearing clothes from his home country. Those that said they would wear these clothes in public said things such as; that they would wear these clothes if they owned some in Australia, that they would perhaps wear these clothes in Dandenong, Melbourne where there are many other people wearing these sorts of clothes or that they might consider it sometime in the future, as many people in Australia wear different clothes and it was not an issue. These different responses

reflect a very subjective interpretation of the acceptability of a certain type of dress in Australian society.

Here Taylor's arguments about 'the politics of recognition' are applicable where these men are employing strategies not only to be recognized but also not recognized. The politics of non recognition become just as important as recognition in these circumstances. This non recognition can be seen as relating to concepts of equality stemming from the Enlightenment, where everyone being viewed as equal is a source of basic human dignity. When my participants are out in public spaces in Australian society, as far as anyone knows they hold the same universal rights and entitlements as those around them (despite this not necessarily being the case in other practical ways). In these spaces, by not being recognised, they are actually being recognised as equal (Taylor 1994, P.37).

In my discussions of clothing choice in different settings some Hazara described wearing clothes they had previously worn in their home countries on special occasions. These occasions include the religious time of Muharram which is the first month of the Islamic calendar, where many of these young men attend the mosque regularly over approximately a month. They then participate in an event on the tenth day known as 'Ashura', going to the mosque with other Hazara, the wider Afghan community and others who identify as being of the Shia Muslim faith. A number of the Hazara community wear traditional clothing previously worn in their home country known as the 'Shalwar Kameez' which is a loose fitting long shirt and pants and can be practically any colour but most commonly white or light blue. The wearing of the Shalwar on these occasions reflects how these men show agency over their dress in different situations. This setting acts as a space of social resistance where these young men do not feel the need to comply to Western styles of dress and choose to wear clothing they had previously worn before their migration to Australia. Here the young men do not feel the gazing eyes of the wider Australian community and not only have the option but encouragement from the Hazara and Afghan community to wear their traditional clothing. The social repercussions from wearing these clothes in these given settings extend to a deeper level. A number of my participants described feelings of national pride when wearing the 'Shalwar Kameez', especially among others in their community who they perceived would not only emulate these nationalist feelings but respect

them for their choice of clothing. Although these young men in one way are enacting a form of social resistance towards the wider Australian dress codes, they are at the same time yielding to social expectations of dress within this community.

The embodied experience of wearing the Shalwar then reflects a complex act of agency among those who choose to and not to wear it on these occasions. Here Bourdieu's work on Habitus and the field provides a useful way to understand what is happening here. As Bourdieu argues, bodies are always situated in culture within temporal and spatial relations. The dressed body in this case is the Hazara wearing the 'Shalwar Kameez', reflecting the culture of the community within the temporal and spatial context of the mosque during Ashura.

Other ways these young men express their identities through the body include tattoos, piercings and hair styles. Much of the theory I have mentioned in discussing clothing applies similarly to these areas although I will also discuss these methods of expression as they warrant a discussion of their own. The participants in my research who favored a 'simple' style of dress also generally favored 'neat and tidy' hair styles of an even length parted to the side if slightly longer or just left un-styled if short enough. Other men however regularly changed their hair every month or two as they saw fit. These men exhibited many different styles with a few that were particularly popular. A hair cut that consists of shaving the sides of the head and back of the head, leaving the top of the hair long. This hair style has been worn by many celebrities and the wider public alike. I argue that many of these young men started cutting their hair in this way before it became widely worn in Australia, reflecting their attention and quick take up of such trends that are being worn by celebrities that they admire. Another popular way to style their hair has been to shave lines through their eyebrows and on the sides of their head. This style has been popular among U.S rap and hip hop artists whose music many of my participants listen to. One young man grew his hair wavy and shoulder length trying to replicate his favourite Bollywood actors and another man grew his hair long enough to be worn tied half up half down, sometimes tying a red bandana around his head. He described the hair style as being like that of his favourite football player 'Christiano Ronaldo' and the bandana like a music artist 'Chris Brown' who he liked.

I discussed with these Hazara about how they were making their hair style choices and whether they had been doing this in their home countries before coming to Australia. Most of these men said they felt they could not have these hair styles in their home countries with a few men who had been living in Iran saying that they had cut their hair differently a few times. Many of these men were trying new hair cuts that they had not felt they were able to have previously and were using this perceived freedom to express themselves in a new way. One man said in an interview, “When I go out and see society and see a hairstyle like this, I want to copy that and if I see more lines in their hair I want to do that and if I see (an) earring I want to do that. So it’s like if I see I want to try”. He explained in his experience that in Afghanistan “some family don’t let their kids cut their hair like me. Only the same (length) long. But not line on the side, not earring. Definitely not earring, definitely not short hair. No gel. Because it was strict. The boys always see on TV and outside they really want to do it but they can’t. When they come here they use all of them here”. I asked him if he felt that other men in Australia were doing this too and he said “Yeah I noticed that when I am in my class I see Aussie boys just normal, not style, just normal but Afghani boys are very fashionable”. The fact that other young men at their school were perceived to not be as focused on the way they were dressing and styling their hair was not a deterrent for them to dress and cut their hair as they desired. For many of my participants, this is one way in which the performance of their identities has changed since coming to Australia. For others as I have mentioned previously, they either had no desire to alter their appearance differently than others around them or felt that they should match the appearance of the wider Australian community so they wouldn’t be perceived as ‘different’.

The way these men dress has some bearing on their relationships in their home countries as well. This issue came up particularly when discussing piercing and tattoos. Some of these Hazara had gotten body piercings over the time that I conducted my research and a couple had small tattoos that could be hidden under clothing. When I asked about their choices to or not to have these done, concerns about family back home seeing pictures of them and finding out about their actions contributed as a key factor in their decision not to have these done. They expressed that there was prejudice about these practices and their family would not tolerate this behavior. I observed on one occasion that one of my participants had gotten his nose pierced, then only a

week later taken it out. When I questioned him about this, he responded that he needed to talk to his family through Skype and that he had removed it so they couldn't see what he had done. These practices of body piercing and tattooing were thought to receive far more prejudice than attempting different hair styles.

For these men who were refraining from adopting the practices they desired, their family and those in their home country's opinions were still influencing their choices about how to appear in their daily lives within Australia. One man explained to me that in regards to his relationship with those at home "I actually show my style because I don't have an earring. That's because I can show. When I take a picture I can take a picture from a good view. So when they see me they are happy and they see my style. But when I put an earring that's when the problem is, they don't like. They (will) call me lochak (Dari term used to insult someone)". Here we can see one way in which these subjects performed identities have been impacted by their transnationalism and the way that they are connecting with their home country kin. The use of visual communication technologies such as Skype make it very hard for these men to hide their appearance (and what they have done with it) from their families abroad. I will talk more about the issue of how these men navigate the information spread about themselves to their home countries in my next chapter.

Music is a powerful form of outward expression for these young men. As I have seen their music choices can be quite eclectic ranging from Afghani and Bollywood styles to Pop and U.S rap. Particular tastes in music are quite personal and directly correlate to their individual clothing and hair styles. For example the young men who preference U.S rap styles of music tend to also replicate the hair and dress of these music artists with particular accuracy, as I have previously mentioned often shaving their hair into creative patterns with bandanas tied around their heads, wearing baggy low hanging jeans and hooded jumpers. Other young men who are listening to more traditional Afghani music tend to wear fairly conservative clothes with a simple hairstyle. Different levels of exposure to these different genres of music no doubt affect the development of these tastes but I argue that there is more to the chosen music tastes than just exposure. Music is a form of identity expression and when observing situations where these

individuals are choosing particular songs to listen and dance to they are taking agency over how they are perceived by others and creating a public identity for themselves.

Chapman (2006) argues the sound of the Lao mouth organ 'kheen' has become an important embodied experience for those who identify as being Lao. He argues that the experiences of the first generation Lao diaspora in Australia associated with the sounds of the Kheen trigger 'cultural memories' from their past. He argues that music is an embodied experience where the sound waves resonate amongst listeners' bodies prompting voluntary and involuntary movements. This is because the auditory contents that are perceived as important are remembered and establish themselves in the behaviour of the listeners (p8-9). These auditory contents include all the different sounds that are heard throughout someone's early life, ranging from background noise to music. This forms the basis of memory recall and as such everyone is likely to have different interpretations of different sounds due to their individual memory associations (p.9).

I argue that subjects embody music through observing the movements of those around them. My participants all knew the same sorts of dances to Afghan music as I observed many times over the course of my research. Despite being from different places, they had all previously observed and danced with others in their communities to this sort of music. A number of my participants had also learnt how to gesture and dance to U.S hip hop and rap music. In listening to music they are moving, replicating the movements of artists in that genre and others they observe dancing. The learnt body movement and expression of the young men is a form of body 'hexis' as Bourdieu describes. Here their bodies can be seen as performing a learned habit "in the form of a pattern of postures that is both individual and systematic, being bound up with a whole system of objects" (Bourdieu 1977 p.87).

The adoption of rap music as a genre listened to by some of these men is of interest to my research because of the way they identify with the popular themes in their lyrics and use it as a way to express themselves. As I have mentioned, these men mostly listened to popular U.S rap musicians but also music from 'AFG Boys.' The subgenre known colloquially as 'AFG Boys' of Afghan Rap and Hip Hop, has emerged primarily out of Iran but is also developing in countries

where Afghan migrants reside including Australia. This is a subgenre of rap music made by different ethnic groups who identify as Afghan. Many of the themes expressed in this music relate to Afghanistan as a homeland, the conflict and suffering people there have seen and the desire for all Afghans to be unified in order to improve the country. This genre is mostly created by young men under the age of 30, making videos and recordings of themselves performing their music and then sharing them online through YouTube and Facebook. A number of my participants expressed a desire to create this sort of music themselves and one man was working on lyrics in his spare time and performing them to his friends.

The popularity of rap music among marginalized communities as a way to address politics and local realities amongst its makers has been looked at in Thanoo's (2012) work on rap music in Mauritius. She argues that rap music has become one of the most important forms of political resistance for youth (p.35). Although normally associated with African diasporic communities, this music has been adopted by many other groups of people in a way that connects marginalities (p.36). I argue that political themes consistent in different rap music make it appealing to my participants who personally have and continue to experience marginalization in their lives.

Keeler (2009) also discusses the adoption of rap music in Burma arguing that it is the style associated with rap music which is appealing to youth (p.5). He argues that Burmese rappers do not necessarily replicate the sorts of lyrical themes that rap music in the U.S does with love and relationships being a more popular theme. In this case the rappers are reproducing the appearances and sounds of rap in the U.S. He argues that these rappers perform an identity they value and desire which is rich, cosmopolitan and modern in ways that international mass media represents these things (p.6). He also discusses the issue of performed masculinity in this genre. He arguing that due to structural reasons, young males expect to be able to exercise a certain degree of power in their lives and that these fantasies are expressed through the imagery in their performances. This is similar to what I have seen in the film clips produced by AFG Boy rappers. These clips tend to show small groups of men together performing with aggressive gestures and serious faces directed right at the camera. The clothes they wear replicate 'gangster' styles in the U.S and evocative images are sometimes shown such as child soldiers and wartime suffering.

Other songs depict the performers as glamorous and cosmopolitan frames, depending on the theme of the song. Certainly an important aspect to these performances is representing internationally validated styles in their music, much in the way that the Burmese rappers do. By expressing themselves through their clothing, styles and music tastes these men are creating and maintaining identities.

Through what is described as the ‘rich languages of expression’ we are able to define our identity. These rich languages of expression which include all modes of expression can be seen in this case in the tastes of the Hazara men (Taylor 2002, p.35). These modes of expression are acquired through interactions with those around us and can be seen in some of the Hazara men’s changing clothing choices and ways in which they experiment with styles. Here they are observing the different styles around them; in particular those who hold significance resonate and impact their choices of expression. These influences often stay with us to some extent throughout our lives, even as those people drift away. The identities formed over time are porous and are somewhat a coagulation of the multiple influences around us throughout our lives as we struggle to define ourselves (et. al.). We can see here with the Hazara men in a small way, how they are struggling to define themselves in Australia. They carry the influences from their home and families as they attach themselves to new people of importance, sometimes in a quite disconnected way as is the case with some of the celebrities they idolize.

Here I have shown a few ways in which my participants are performing their identities from day to day in Australia. The experiences of performing these identities through their bodies and their music engagement differ among individuals, as their own histories and present contexts vary. Each man is none the less navigating through these experiences and performing these identities in many different ways every day.

Chapter 4: Gender and Manhood

These Hazara reflect a more traditional notion of the migration experience being young, adult, male family members having been sent abroad as the initial facilitators of the family migration (Pessar & Mahler 2003, p.813). These single Hazara in Australia have not only have different experiences to their kin back in their home country, but also to other Hazara in Australia who have their families with them. As these men are in a new country without their families, they must navigate their settlement themselves often relying heavily on other Hazara in the area for information about services, employment and local communities.

As mentioned in my chapter on 'Kinship and Community', the men I spoke to described being excluded from certain activities. They also described anxiety about being judged negatively by other Hazara families in the community. This is the case not only with my Canberra participants, but with men settled in other states across Australia. These men felt that family groups would automatically assume that they were involved in undesirable activities. These activities felt to be undesirable include drinking, taking drugs, going to bars and clubs and having relations with women. While some of my participants did indeed participate in these activities, the issue for them was that they did not wish other Hazara in their communities to know. They desired to keep these two facets of their lives quite separate and regularly expressed concerns about being seen publicly drinking or with a woman by someone in the community and 'gossip' starting about them. Concerns about gossip are not limited to the community in which these men reside. Many of these men are also concerned that due to how connected the transnational community is, that some of this gossip could reach their families in their home country. Due to my observations of just how well connected the transnational communities are, I would say that this is a well grounded fear.

The gender of my participants results in a specific experience to their migration and settlement in Australia. Being men, they will have differing expectations placed on them by their families and by the communities they are involved in. The experience of women from similar backgrounds settling in the West has been researched by Jamal (2008) and McKenzie (2004). The experience of men from these backgrounds has not been investigated in the same amount of

detail. Here I compare the subjective experiences of the participants in these two works with my own to look at how gender is experienced in their daily lives. Gilmartin (2008) argues that “gender shifts and changes through migration” (p.1840). She argues that migrant women have been socially constructed to be a homogenous group of people and this can result in these women becoming the subject of hostility and marginalization. Because of this the identities of migrant women are influenced.

Jamal’s (2008) work investigates the experiences of women who have fled from war and unrest in Afghanistan and settled in Canada. She argues that there is a need for a more nuanced attempt to examine the way that women’s identities change through migration and the way they experience settlement and participation in their new countries. The Immigration and Refugee Policy in Canada privileges ‘skilled’ migrants which results in disadvantages towards women who may not be seen as ‘skilled’ due to having spent time having children, raising them and participating in domestic and care giving roles. Unequal access to education and work opportunities in their previous country of origin are also factors contributing to this disadvantage under the policy (Jamal 2008, p.3). Once arriving in Canada, language proficiency is of keen importance for these women to gain access not only to social resources, but to eventually gain citizenship. This is similarly experienced by my male participants, where learning English is an immediate priority.

My participants however, are not impeded in the same ways as these women who can struggle in finding access to affordable childcare and may be subject to gendered family roles in regards to the caring of children (Jamal 2008, p.18). This extends to furthering education and finding employment. These women face challenges with trying to balance the needs of their family and themselves as they often have the responsibility of ‘care giving’ which makes them more likely to need to negotiate a variety of different demands in their daily lives. These women are more likely to bear the burden of taking on low paid, unstable employment to manage these demands. My participants certainly do not have to contend with these things in their lives in Australia as they are without other family members and are not expected to fulfill a care giving role.

Jamal argues that families may have to renegotiate models where males are placed in the role of authority, as this will not necessarily best suit the circumstances and needs in a new country. An example of this would be where traditional roles of a sole male income earner and a female caregiver are renegotiated with the women supplementing the family's income (2008, p.20). This can be seen in the lives of my participants where they had not previously been responsible for household duties such as cooking and cleaning. Since being separated from their families they had to acquire these skills and complete these activities themselves. For these men, learning how to complete domestic duties is not without its challenges. By the time they arrive in Australia and move out into the community these men have developed a basic level of skill enabling them to cook for themselves and undertake other domestic duties. The main ways in which they learn these skills are from other men more experienced than themselves whilst on their journey to Australia, in detention situations and once out in the community living with other men. Those who have been in community detention as an unaccompanied minor do have the opportunity to learn some of these skills from staff. This learning from other men is principally because of the way that their journey and settlement is structured: they are generally housed with other men.

McKenzie (2004) writes about the experiences of women from refugee backgrounds who identify as Muslim in America. As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, my participants expressed concerns about being judged by others in the Hazara and Afghan community for their behaviour and participation in certain stigmatized activities. In her work, McKenzie describes similar experiences. In one case providing the example where one of her young Afghan participants was at the swimming pool where she had become accustomed to wearing a two piece bathing suit. Upon seeing other male members of her community come to the pool, she opted to swim fully clothed. This young woman described that she did not want these men to talk amongst themselves about her behaviour which she feared would result in ostracism (p.6). Here we can see that both sets of participants are subject to struggles as they navigate through adopting new values and behaviours within their communities. While the kinds of ways in which they are restricted differ due to gender expectations, both parties are seen to alter their behaviour and performance in different contexts. My participants work to put forward certain identities within

the different social contexts they partake in with the ability to ‘reign in’ on their behaviours when need be. Many of the experiences described by these women are similar to my own participants, with the challenges of settlement such as finding housing, employment, education, health care and forming social networks being something that is faced by all new-comers to a country.

In terms of the expectations faced by their families, all my participants face a very similar set of concerns. Each of these men aims to be granted a visa that allows them to be eventually reunified with their families in Australia. As every ones families are in different situations, the experience of this process varies considerably. Some of these men face more pressure from their families who see themselves as in more dire situations than others. Personal safety, financial security and health are main factors that contribute to heightened pressure from family in their home countries. As these mens’ family compositions differ, from having one to several family members wishing to come to Australia, so do these pressures. The policies governing the acquisition of protection visas and subsequent family reunification has seen many changes in the past decade, with the timeframes of these processes spanning from a few years to one that is currently uncertain (RACS 2014a).

The extended timeframes these men face and uncertainty of when they will be reunited with their kin produces much anxiety for these men whose current role in their families is to succeed in this structural activity. A number of men are able to send remittances to their families at home, taking on the role as a contributor to the family income. These men experience guilt and frustration when not being able to fulfill their duties as perceived by themselves and their families. This is especially the case due to the cost accumulated from the journey to Australia (Maley 2001, p. 9). Normally these men would have sought work in their home countries and been expected to contributed to their family households until they were married. This results in their journey to Australia coming at a further financial cost to these families. Those who send remittances to their families are able to somewhat fulfill a role they would have had before coming to Australia.

Apart from financial contributions to their families in their home countries, in Australia they are also subject to a number of differing levels of autonomy and opportunities. As I have

mentioned, these men are confronted with a range of activities that they previously did not have the same opportunities to participate in. These activities include social activities, educational and economic opportunities. In terms of the social, there are opportunities in Australia to drink, participate in nightlife and have relations with women that they did not have before. That's not to say that they did not engage in these activities before arrival (as many did) or that they were all participating in these activities whilst in Australia. Alleviated from wider social stigmas about these activities has however made participation far more accessible. Despite concerns about their families at home finding out about what they were doing, many of these men still engaged in these activities confident that their families would be unaware. Some of my participants explained to me that their families and community at home would not be able to fully comprehend their situation in Australia and so it was impossible to share knowledge of some of the things they were doing.

This marks a real way in which many of these men have changed since coming to Australia. Having been resituated and experienced new things since leaving their home countries, they felt unable to connect in this way and communicate certain aspects of themselves with their kin. This is just one example of experiences these men are met with in Australia that distance themselves in more than a physical way from their previous lives. Jamal (2008, p.22) writes about this in regards to conflict within migrant families because of the way the way younger members often adopt a different set of norms and values than their parents who may wish to resist these changes. For my participants, this experience is somewhat similar in the way that they are confronted with new norms they adopt, but dissimilar in the way that their families are yet to become aware of these changes.

Educational and economic opportunities are another framework in which these men must navigate through differently. All of my participants had previously attended school to varying levels and some were still attending up until they left for Australia. Others had left school early and sought local employment. The kinds of employment these men had previously had and others predicted they would have eventually begun, consisted of retail positions and trades. Similarly in Australia, most of my participants expected to find employment in these areas if they had not already done so at the time of my research. Some expressed desires to continue their education

but only to the point that was necessary to finding secure employment. Finding financial security is important for providing not only for themselves, but for the provision of their families migration and settlement in Australia. These men are faced with the prospect that eventually members of their families might be coming to Australia. Having experienced settlement in Australia for themselves, they are well aware of the challenges that they and their families will face during this period. These men will need to find suitable accommodation for the family and possibly have to finance this, familiarize them with the different facets of the community and most likely act as a translator and facilitator for these newly arrived in many aspects of their lives. Here we see the practical responsibilities these men will have towards their kin and the way in which this influences their decision making during their own settlement.

Many of these men have few friends outside of other Afghans in the community. Some however have developed friendship circles with other non-Afghans mostly through school where they attend class with other students from a wide range of backgrounds. Communication is a major factor here, where the men with limited English struggle to engage in conversations with their classmates. The learning environment also contributes to this. In Canberra at Dickson College, when these men are first enrolled at the school they must pass an English test that determines if they have the language ability to be placed in the mainstream classes. For those who do not have the language ability required, they are enrolled in an intense English program until they can pass the test. Other students in the intensive English program at Dickson College come from many different backgrounds, with many having moved to Australia with their families. Unless they share a common language, they are limited in how they can verbally communicate. The men in the intensive English program are somewhat segregated from other students in the mainstream classes because of their English ability and the separate program they are enrolled in.

The men who are able to pass the test and enroll in the mainstream schooling have more opportunity to communicate and spend time with their fellow classmates. Some of these men do socialize outside of other Afghans and some manage to develop relationships with women. I discussed with my participants the relationships they had with women and the fact that some of them had girlfriends. Many of these men expressed that they were very keen to have friendships

with their female classmates and wanted to find a girlfriend but that they felt intimidated and unsure of how to initiate these interactions. Most of my participants explained that they had not previously socialized much with women in their home countries and had been very much segregated from women who were not somehow related to them. A few of them however said that despite not previously spending much time socializing with women and being discouraged in starting relationships in their home countries, that they had become very comfortable in doing so in Australia and didn't feel inhibited in their pursuits with women. None of these men had shared the news of their relationships with their families in their home countries. I discussed the issue of sharing this news with their families, not only with the men who were in relationships, but with those who were not. Responses were mixed with some saying that their parents would be displeased and they would be expected to eventually marry women their families had chosen or at least another person identified as Afghan. Others said that their families may encourage marriage to someone in their community but that they would support the decision that was ultimately theirs.

At school, these men attended classes with other young female Hazara. The first generation women had mostly come to Australia with their families or had been reunited as a family after their fathers had settled in Australia and secured permanent residency (RACS 2014b). Others had been born in Australia or at least spent a significant part of their lives growing up in the country. My participants had little to do with these women apart from the structured activities within their school day or attending the mosque where the men and women are segregated to separate spaces for the duration of the time they spend there. During an interview, one man expressed deep resentment about the behaviour of these women at school who he believed did not wish to communicate with him at all. He explained that at school "if I want to ask a question about education. I'm thinking you are speaking the same language as me. Also there's more, it's very difficult because first they are ignoring saying go go, I don't speak your language. So in terms of these things it is very different. And it makes me sad. Because you know in Afghanistan many families are sacrificing themselves just for being Hazara. To prove that Hazaras are a nation in Afghanistan and things like this. And the opportunity that they come here before us, that people sacrificed themselves and defended so they (can) come here. So right

now they are forgetting that we are Hazara, (even) just to speak. If a Hazara girl was you, she would not answer me, and the guys are also doing this”. Here this man is referring to experiences of not only young women in Hazara family groups discriminating against them, but other men who have been living in Australia long term doing so too.

As I have mentioned, playing soccer is one activity that many of these men are engaging in regularly and in Canberra they have made a team consisting of men who identify as Afghan. Here one of my participants gives an example of an incident that occurred during a soccer game. He explained, “This happened in soccer field. Someone insult someone else. So the person who I know got his citizenship, he said ‘I am Australian and have citizenship and can do everything on you, you have bridging visa’. At that moment I was dying. I was very mad. If that person was in Afghanistan and that person say that to me I would fight with him. You know I came here not to enjoy, I came here to survive. And he said this to me and he’s from my own country. If an Aussie person said that to me it doesn’t matter. If an Aboriginal person said it doesn’t matter, but when my own people said this to me it’s very hard to accept. Especially as a young person. Young people have their own pride and their own feelings so at that moment I was dying. So this is something that is happening sometimes”. Here we see how the visa and citizenship status of someone in this community has been used to express a superior sense of belonging in Australia. Members of the same Afghan community and soccer team are expressing discriminatory sentiments to others in less stable residency circumstances, albeit in a moment of anger. This man felt that if he was in Afghanistan he would retaliate to these comments with violence, but due to his visa status he was not in a position to respond as he wished to. This suggests that notions of superiority amongst the different institutionally recognized statuses actually hold practical power over individual’s actions in Australia.

Those who have permanent residency or citizenship are treated differently as those who have Bridging Visas. This is especially so with the current political climate (RACS 2014b, RACS 2014c). If someone is to be penalized for fighting and they have permanent residency or citizenship, they are subject to the same charges as any other Australian. If someone has a Bridging Visa, they are required to sign a ‘Code of Behaviour’ when they move into the community and actions such as being caught fighting (among many other things) are identified as

a breach of this contract, which can result in being taken into detention (RACS 2014a, RACS 2014c). The discriminatory words the man in my example used reflect a very practical threat for the participants in my research who are subject to these Bridging Visa regulations.

These incidents raise the issue of migration and the politics of belonging where some people are seen as belonging to a place more than others. Institutional practices of inclusion and exclusion create barriers for new comers to assert themselves as ‘belonging’ to a society and give weight to the claims of those who feel they belong more than others. I will discuss notions of citizenship in terms of its affect on people’s sense of belonging. Citizenship and visa categories govern the rights and responsibilities a person might have in relation to the state and other citizens. It provides a formal recognition of someone’s relationship with and ‘belonging’ to the land of the state. It is an intangible form of property according to Shachar and Hirschl (2007) which involves a person in a set of enforceable entitlements and duties from all parties, that being the individual, other members of society and the state (p.261). The formal recognition of citizenship usually affords someone with certain protections by the governing body. This includes freedom from deportation, access to legal systems, a sense of ownership of communal resources as well as involvement in political life and decisions concerning the state. Overall, citizenship gives someone the right not to be excluded (p.264).

Citizenship as an institution is something that when looked at throughout history, can be understood in terms of its changes. In the West, Werbner (2010) discusses this saying that citizenship can be seen to have changed from civil oriented in the eighteenth century, political oriented in the nineteenth century and social in the twentieth century (p.7). Different aspects of someone’s life are affected by their visa status and whether they are a citizen or not. I have already mentioned factors this regulates include involvement in political life and access to shared state resources, also a number of other things. Migration and travel for example are affected largely by citizenship. International relations between states at any given time will influence the ease of access a person has in going to another country (Shachar & Hirschl 2007, p.261). Employment is another area regulated by citizenship. In Australia for example depending on residency or visa class, a student, tourist, businessperson or permanent resident is able to take up different forms of employment as stipulated in the terms of their stay.

Hage (1998) argues that Bourdieu's theory of 'cultural capital' is a useful tool to understand feelings of belonging within a nation. Cultural capital as outlined by Bourdieu is best understood within the framework of cultural fields. Cultural fields are fluid rather than static and can range from any number of settings one may find themselves such as institutions, places or rituals (p.53). What is important in this concept is the presence of the interaction of social positions within this given setting (Webb et al. 2002, p. 22). Cultural capital exists within these fields as attributes held by people and are perceived with differing value. Socially held ideas surrounding the *value* of these attributes is where we can understand this theory in terms of other forms of capital. This cultural capital can change in its value within and between fields. That said, the amount of cultural capital someone has is something which can be both accumulated and depleted. The amount of cultural capital an individual has will depend on their social position within that field (Webb et al. 2002, p. 23).

Hage (1998) argues that feelings of belonging relate to the accumulation of cultural capital and that this capital is not easily accumulated by newcomers to Australia. These attributes include accent, English language proficiency, duration of residence, adherence and understanding of cultural practices and norms and ethnic appearance. In regards to my research, we can see how visa status and citizenship as a form of cultural capital affect my participants. This is not just the case within the Afghan community but with the wider Australian community too. The idea of a particular national identity creates a spectrum of belonging from those who are able to fit more closely into this profile of perceived national identity compared to those who barely fit at all. I argue along with Hage (1998) that under this system, feelings of belonging are based on inclusion and exclusion. I further argue that the maintenance of these feelings depends on the existence of those who are seen to belong more or less.

The use of citizenship creates the ability to enforce limits for who have access to the benefits and duties provided by the state. Citizenship as a legal and enforceable institution allows citizens to maintain 'us' and 'them' mentalities within society, between those who have been determined to be part of the state and those who have not (Yuval-Davis 2006, p.204). For example in Australia and many other Western countries, the current process of gaining citizenship is used to make prospective citizens prove their allegiance to the nation and its

‘commonly held ideals’. States will usually regulate access to citizenship by demanding prospective citizens satisfy a number of requirements deemed necessary for an individual to be worthy of the status (Shachar and Hirschl 2007, p.265). States may do this by requiring residents to have spent a certain amount of time in the country before citizenship is granted, they may need to prove family ties to citizens already in the country, prove their capabilities in the national language, submit to an exam or a mixture of several requirements.

In Australia, being granted humanitarian protection absolves the need to satisfy some of these requirements. Justification by the state for these requirements, especially the citizenship test is to encourage migrants to gain the skills and knowledge needed to integrate successfully into mainstream society (DPS 2009, pp.16- 28). Avoiding conflict and maintaining a harmonious society, while at the same time increasing the population through migration by regulating formal acceptance into the nation, is what governing bodies seek to achieve through this process. The act of regulation allows states to decide who is a desirable citizen and allow or not allow someone this status depending on their perceived characteristics and abilities (Yuval-Davis 2006, p.207). In Australia for example, ideas of who is considered to be a desirable member of society has changed from that of someone with a particular ancestry associated with colonising forces (British or European), to someone with certain skills the country requires to develop the economy and maintain national security such as physical labour. Now it is someone who is considered to hold certain values and attributes, such as the valuing of a democratic system and respect for freedom. Automatic citizenship however, is granted by states to some groups of people (DPIS 2009, pp.1-29).

The notions of *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis* apply to these groups of people where by the place of their birth or their bloodline is deemed to entitle them to citizenship (Shachar and Hirschl 2004, p.265). These groups of people are automatically citizens at birth and require no certification specifically stipulating their acceptance as a citizen. This documentation proving the acquisition of citizenship by those who have entered a state, serves to identify that person as someone who has been accepted by the state but is still an outsider in their origin (Hage 1998, p.50).

Notions of citizenship and visa requirements change over time depending on those who I refer to as 'national elites' ideas of what is necessary to benefit the country. For example in Australia as with a number other Western countries as I have mentioned earlier, a common ancestry was perceived to be the indicator of a residents belonging to the nation and gave someone rights to citizenship. This was the case upon colonisation and remained so up until the Second World War (DPS 2009, p.1-3). A British heritage was the ancestry relevant to citizenship as ties and allegiances to Britain were of central importance during this time (DPS 2009, p.4). Ideas of belonging have continued till today to be related to British ancestry to an extent, but these feelings are arguably held by a minority of nationalists (Hage 1998, p.52). As Australia recovered from the Second World War, concerns over the economy and defence force led the country to adopt a less restricted policy to allow other Europeans to settle, even encouraging them at different times. This desire to expand the economy and the skill set of Australia's workers has led to the continued expansion of new groups of people officially accepted into the Australian state (DPS 2009, pp.5-7). International relations and declining political ties with Britain as well as a growing association with the Asia-Pacific region resulted in larger amounts of people being accepted from these countries than ever before. Diplomacy and international obligations has seen the acceptance of humanitarian arrivals from countries such as Vietnam and Central Asia. These people would not traditionally have been accepted into the country, but the country has humanitarian obligations agreed upon jointly with other countries of strong association. This has remained the case up until today (DPS 2009, p.14, RACS 2014b).

We can see how through the example of Australia, a countrys' ability to accept different peoples as that of 'belonging' to the nation have loosely followed the country's elites desire to maintain and expand its power. The acceptance of new types of nationals has come out of a perceived necessity for the country to 'survive' throughout history, and the inclusion of new groups of people has been deemed the solution at different points in time. Although these new groups of people have not immediately been identified as belonging, over time their contribution to the building of the nation has gained them a valued place as part of a wider community of Australians (DPS 2009, p.1-35). This and the continued arrival of new residents, who are seen as not belonging, reinforce their place and acceptance.

I have argued that regimes of citizenship do loosely follow feelings of belonging. This is due to citizenship being used as an enforceable tool to include and exclude those who are perceived to 'belong'. The process of gaining this official state recognition of belonging is tied in with requirements that citizenship is a valuable form of property, which entitles an individual to a number of benefits and powers the state can provide. This results in controlling the different groups of people included into society by the selection of 'desirables' and the exclusion of 'undesirables'. I argue that cultural capital and imagined ideas of a hegemonic national identity creates a spectrum of belonging, with those who belong more than others.

Conclusion

In my previous chapters I have covered three facets of my Hazara participants' lives where identities are formed and performed. I argue that these Hazara men actively participate in Australian society, developing connections with the people and places around them, they also actively participate in both their home communities and an international community of Hazara diaspora.

The way these men stay connected with their country of origin is an integral part of these Hazaras' daily life. Through Skype and Facebook these men are able to maintain relations with their kin. Contacting family however can be both a source of both comfort and anxiety. The way that the Hazara and Afghan communities have been formed provides insights into how socially and culturally similar migrants can band together in a society of predominantly differing people. We can see how these young men, despite being from any of three different countries and various different provinces still have a strong unifying Hazara identity which overrides their 'Afghan' nationalism. The engagement they have with each other and with the wider Hazara community is in many ways tied with their shared ethnic identity but also has to do with their shared association with the common homeland of Hazarajat. I have applied Andersons 'imagined communities' to the way my participants position themselves with the international Hazara communities. I argue that their involvement in political campaigns so reflects behavior stemming from strong feelings of what Hage refers to as 'migration guilt'. Participation in these domains is in no way a static experience as a collective identity is completely subjective and so subject to change over time.

I have argued that the way these men dress and choose their styles at different times affect their feelings of social 'comfort' both in their countries of origin and in Australia. These men experience feelings of new freedoms with their lives in Australia that allow them to do experiment with different fashions that they previously did not wear. The scope of these freedoms however are at times limited with home communities and Australian communities attitudes still influencing the way they feel they can express themselves. My participants are concerned with presenting themselves in a way that expresses Western fashion trends as well as respecting socially acceptable dress in the communities they participate in. Here we can see one

way in which these subjects performed identities have been impacted by their transnationalism and the way that they are connected to their home country kin. The way that these men navigate their styles can be seen in regards to the growth of multiculturalism where some level of 'hybridisation' creates new cultural developments enabling people to question and rework identities (Ben- Rafael 2013, p.850). The extent that many of these Hazara alter their previous clothing tastes and styles varies considerably when they come to Australia, but their identities are none the less being performed in this way. The type of clothes each man wears can be seen as a performance of his particular feelings about his identity at that time. These different responses I received about their style choices in comparison to the wider Australian society reflect a very subjective interpretation of the acceptability of a certain type of dress. It is clear however that the migration undertaken by the Hazara men in my research has resulted in their being able to more fully express themselves and has granted them more freedom in different aspects of their lives than would otherwise have been possible in their countries of origin. Their ability to negotiate the multiple domains in their lives with such fluidity suggests a highly porous experience of identity in the migration and settlement experience, where more restrictive theories do not seem to apply.

The experiences of performing these identities through their bodies and their music engagement differ among individuals, as their own histories and present contexts vary. Each man is none the less navigating through these experiences and performing these identities in many different ways every day.

In terms of the expectations faced by their families, all my participants face a very similar set of concerns relating to the security of a visa that enables them to permanently live in Australia with their families. Their journey to Australia comes at a high financial cost to their families. This is not only because of the cost involved in reaching Australia but because their ability to contribute financially to the family household is temporarily diminished. Those who send remittances to their families are able to somewhat fulfill a role they would have had before coming to Australia and relieve financial burdens. We see the practical responsibilities these men will have towards their kin and the way in which this influences their decision making during their own settlement.

These men are confronted with a range of activities that they previously did not have the same opportunities to participate in. Having been resituated and experienced new things since leaving their home countries, many felt unable to connect in this way and communicate certain aspects of themselves with their kin. Difficulties lie in terms of connecting with and building friendships with people from a diverse range of backgrounds. For the men with limited English ability, unless they share a common language, they are otherwise restricted in how they can verbally communicate. Even within the Hazara and Afghan community there have been incidents raising the issue of migration and the politics of belonging. Here we have seen that some people believe themselves belonging to a place more than others. Institutional practices of inclusion and exclusion have created barriers for new comers to assert themselves as 'belonging' to a society and give weight to the claims of those who feel they belong more than others. This is due to citizenship being used as an enforceable tool to include and exclude those who are perceived to 'belong'. The use of citizenship and visa status, gives a legal basis to 'us' and 'them' mentalities within society and within these men's lives.

Stuart Hall (1996) perception is that identity is not a central dominating characteristic of the self but is a fragmented and politicized token in relation to a particular collective. I would also argue something similar to this with the way the Hazara are able to fluidly express different elements of an identity depending on where they are situated and who they are with. I of course do not think this is something exclusive to my Hazara participants, but a behavior exhibited by people in general and is not something that is necessarily consciously done. I would say there is a heightened reflexive aspect to this behavior from this migrant community and my participants, where they are somewhat aware of their changing performative behaviors in a given situation due to their heightened awareness of things in a new place. Such as when you are situated in a new environment, you are more conscious of yourself in respect to the things around you, and after a while these habitual surroundings become less palpable (Csordas 1993, p. 138).

Trying to form some sort of singular explanation for how these young men experience and perform their identities as a community in Australia is complex, as each Hazara varies greatly in their perception and experience of their surroundings at different time and places (Ben-Rafael 2013, p.848). Social identification and involvement cannot be all encompassing when

people are situated in multiple contexts (Ben-Rafael 2013, p.855). Their time cannot be spent exclusively with one identifying group. This is the case with my participants who are engaged daily in various social situations which become part of their life- word and their identity. They exhibit multiple belongings, which can create an awareness of these changes over time as they have contact with their previous homeland, fellow transnational diasporics and others in the wider community. Each of these men's particular identity development will be different as the subjective nature of experiences. This however, only allows for the ability for them to have this awareness of their change and be somewhat reflexive.

Taylor (1994) writes that "We become full human agents, capable of understanding ourselves, and hence of defining our identity, through our acquisition of rich human languages of expression." (p.32). The rich human languages of expression that I have described of my Hazara participants are ways that they are continually defining their identities. Continued investigation of the way their identities are performed as these men live in Australia, would allow academics to better understand the way time and continued settlement affect these communities.

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